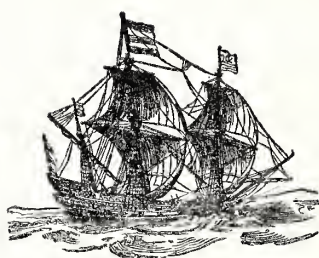


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HENRY HUDSON IN HOLLAND



HENRY HUDSON

IN

HOLLAND

AN INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN AND OBJECTS OF THE VOYAGE
WHICH LED TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE HUDSON RIVER

WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

BY

HEN. C. MURPHY

REPRINTED, WITH NOTES, DOCUMENTS AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY,
BY WOUTER NIJHOFF, HON. SECRETARY TO THE "LINSCHOTEN-VEREENIGING"



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The booklet published in 1859 by Henry Cruse Murphy, then United States Minister at The Hague, well deserves re-printing. The commemoration, both in America and in the Netherlands, of the 300th anniversary of Hudson's third voyage, has once more drawn general attention to the details of that exploit and consequently to this work, wherein, in a manner at once clear and complete, the notices and preparations for the expedition were set forth, accompanied by important documents then first brought to light. Since, however, the issue was limited to a small number of copies, "for private distribution", the book became very scarce and remained almost unknown even to those who made a special study of the subject.

Asher, in the Introduction to his valuable and well documented monograph *Henry Hudson the Navigator*, 1860, complains of not having been able to secure a copy of Murphy's treatise, and his work therefore lacks some of the very important data of which that treatise makes earliest mention.

On the other hand, Murphy has contented himself with giving the English translation of some of the more important documents without supplying the original text, whilst his bibliography is not altogether satisfactory.

These facts have induced me to reprint this interesting booklet. I have reproduced all the documents, both MSS. and in print, after carefully collating them with the

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originals, and given each an English translation, whilst some notes, mostly on matters unknown in the author's day, endeavor to bring this reprint up to date. In the bibliographical description of the printed Dutch sources (see pp. 81—96), the notes on Hessel Gerritsz.' famous "Hudson Tract" are accompanied by the excellent Introduction written by Dr. S. Muller, which preceded the facsimile reprint published by his father, Frederik Muller, in 1878.

Possibly in the course of time further documents, still unknown, will be unearthed — even Hudson's own Journal, which he sent to the Netherlands, has not yet been discovered; here, however, the reader will find collected for the first time all the original documents relating to the third voyage that are at present known to exist in the Dutch.

I am indebted to Mr. J. A. J. de Villiers, of the British Museum, London, Hon. Secretary of the Hakluyt Society, for the translation of some of the documents as well as for his supervision of my English.

W. N.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

The following memoir is the result of an investigation made here for the purpose of ascertaining, more precisely than has hitherto been explained, the circumstances which originated the voyage made on behalf of the Dutch East India Company by HENRY HUDSON, the motives, purposes and character of its projectors, and the designs of the navigator himself at the time he sailed upon that expedition. The inquiry has elicited some new and curious information, which it is hoped will prove interesting to those who love to study the proximate causes which led to the actual settlement of our continent by civilized man. The record of events which was fortunately made for us by the French Ambassador then at the Hague is now fully identified and corroborated; the enterprising spirits of Holland to whose energy we are indebted for the voyage are recognized, at least partially, and found to have been also the authors of the famous expeditions to the Arctic seas of WILLIAM BARENDSZOON; and HUDSON himself is seen to have contemplated and prepared himself in this voyage for the very exploration which he made of the greater part of the Atlantic coast of the United States and which resulted in the discovery of the bay of New York and its noble tributary.

Other points of interest connected with the sending out of this expedition will attract especial attention. The most important of them is the explicit statement

of HUDSON in regard to the amelioration of the climate at the extreme Northern latitude attained by him in his previous explorations, and its remarkable concomitant, an open navigation towards the pole. It was this relation which satisfied the minds of the directors of the Company as to the expediency of making a new search for a passage to China in those comparatively mild and possibly habitable regions. We know how often this observation of HUDSON has since been confirmed by later voyagers at different points of the arctic circle and yet our knowledge, after the lapse of two hundred and fifty years, in regard to this strange phenomenon has hardly advanced one step, and we are in the same state both of doubt and hopeful effort on the subject as the merchants of Amsterdam were on the occasion of the narration of our navigator. Science too, then as now, stepped in to substantiate the fact when otherwise it would have been incredible, and to encourage the undertaking.

In prosecuting this task we have sought the most authentic sources of information; and with that view have examined the records of the East India Company, comprising the registers or books of resolutions of the general council of the Company, styled the Council of Seventeen, and of the chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland respectively, with some other documents of a miscellaneous character, among the Archives of the Kingdom at the Hague; where all the books and papers of the Company, which were until lately dispersed among the different cities where the operations of the different chambers were conducted, have been brought together and arranged. A copy of the contract between HUDSON

and the Chamber of Amsterdam was found appended to a history of the Company, never published, but prepared at its request by Mr. P. VAN DAM, who held the position of Counsel of the Company for the extraordinary period of fifty-four years, that is, from 1652 until his death in 1706. The original instrument is not to be found. That would have been a precious relic to see, but for all the purposes of history the copy thus accidentally preserved will answer its place.

We have also sought for such contemporaneous printed accounts as appeared in Holland in regard to the voyage. Of these there were, however, only two; the HUDSON tract of 1612—13, and the history of VAN METEREN, both of which have been known to our writers, but their peculiar claims to authenticity on the subject of HUDSON'S voyage have never been explained. The former, indeed, has altogether escaped notice in this connection. They appeared shortly after the voyage was made and when it was yet hoped that HUDSON was still alive, if, indeed, he were not so in fact. One was written in the Latin tongue and the other in Dutch: the former has never appeared in English, and the latter only through the medium of a French translation. It seemed proper, therefore, that we should not only give these accounts in English, in full, but also the grounds upon which we claimed their authenticity. To the bibliographer this last part of our labor will prove perhaps of some additional interest, as he will there see, if we mistake not, how his science serves the purposes of historical investigation. The intelligent reader need not be referred to the later publications, the journal of the traitor Juet in Purchas, and the accounts of DE LAET, which have been

carefully translated and accompanied by suitable notes by Hon. GEORGE FOLSOM, in the first volume of the second series of the Collections of the New York Historical Society. These authorities are well known and must ever remain the chief sources of our knowledge as to the incidents of the voyage. They fail us, however, in regard to the points which we have sought to explain. The later publications of VAN DER DONCK and others are worse than useless for our purpose, as they are not only copyists of the facts of this early period, but the writer just named is grossly inaccurate in the little which he has mentioned on the subject.

It remains for us to express our infinite obligations to the learned Archivist of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Dr. R. C. BAKHUIZEN VAN DER BRINK, and to M. F. A. G. CAMPBELL Esq. the accomplished Assistant Librarian of the Royal Library at the Hague, for valuable aid in the course of our researches. We are also indebted to the kindness of Mr. FREDERIK MULLER of Amsterdam for the opportunity of collating the different editions of the very rare tract, first published in 1612, and thereby of establishing an important piece of evidence in the investigation; and of Mr. J. SCHUITMAKER of Purmerende for the portrait of DIRK VAN OS which embellishes our pages. Our friend J. T. BODEL NIJENHUIS Esq. of Leyden has also laid us under renewed obligations.

HEN. C. MURPHY.

THE HAGUE,
April 15. 1859.

INTRODUCTION.

In having his name given to portions of the New World, in a manner which is certain to transmit through all time his right to be considered their first European discoverer, Hudson has been more fortunate than any other navigator except Vespucci, who has the exclusive honor of having the name of a continent identified with his own, and yet more fortunate even than he, in regard that his claim to the discovery is not a subject of dispute. Hudson's Bay and Hudson River, two points of great geographical interest, attest his intrepidity as an explorer and indicate precisely the regions which he first fully made known to the civilized world; while there is neither gulf nor stream, island nor mainland to carry down to posterity the name of its discoverer for Columbus or Cabot or Verrazzano or Gomez or Cartier; and a single spot suffices to perpetuate their names for Davis, Magellan, Champlain, and others who have made discoveries along the American continent. But although the skill and daring of Hudson have been thus perpetuated beyond the lot of his fellows, in monuments more lasting than men could otherwise devise, his antecedents and personal history, are, on the other hand, less known than those of most of the other navigators just named. For the brief period of five years only he appears upon the stage of action,

and then perishes amid the scenes of his triumphs and at a moment when he and the world believed that he had accomplished the darling object of his ambition and of the hopes of Northern Europe — a northerly passage to the East Indies. The history of his short career, sudden in its commencement, bright in its course, and startling and dramatic in its close, is derived from the journals of his voyages kept by himself and others and published by Purchas. These furnish all that is known of him, except some few additional facts which we have now collected from other sources ¹). We know that he was an Englishman, but what city gave him birth or what was his lineage are matters entirely unknown. We now learn, indeed, for the first time, that he had several children, besides the son who shared his miserable fate; and possibly, therefore, what has become of his descendants may still be wrought out, and with it something of his family history. There is no portrait of him, not even a contemporaneous print of doubtful authenticity, a fact the more remarkable from the circumstance that he lived and acquired a celebrity in an age when it was quite the fashion to present to the public pictures of those who merited attention. We are equally at a loss to know what circumstances led him into the path of maritime discovery, or for whom it was that he made his first two voyages. It only distinctly appears that they were made on account of an English Company, which was not the association of Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges and others, as has sometimes been

¹) Since Murphy wrote this, Hudson's early history has been investigated by J. M. Read. (Albany, 1866.)

alleged ¹⁾. In the absence of positive statements on the subject we are therefore left to conjecture. We do indeed find that a license was on the 9th of January 1607 granted to Richard Penkevel and others authorizing them to seek China, Cathay, the Moluccas and other places in the East by the way of the North, Northwest and Northeast, under the title of „the Collegues of the Fellowship for the Discovery of the North passage”, and the time of the formation of this company and its object agree with the period and design of these two voyages ²⁾. No other association of which we have any knowledge existed in England at that time for such purposes, and it may well be that it was in their service Hudson was engaged.

¹⁾ Moulton (*History of New York*. I. 197), in attempting to correct the statement of Forster that the names of the persons who employed Hudson have not been handed down to us, says that they are mentioned by Purchas. This is a mistake, as in the place cited Purchas merely gives the names of Sir Thomas Smith and others as the promoters of the voyage of 1610. Indeed we learn from Purchas, on the contrary, that these individuals were not the persons who employed Hudson in 1607 and 1608; for in his account of the fourth voyage for Sir Thomas Smith's Company it is stated that Robert Bileth was engaged in *their first three* voyages. Now the first time that Bileth sailed with Hudson was in 1610, as may be seen by comparing the lists in Purchas of Hudson's crews on his first two voyages above mentioned. So that Hudson's fourth and last voyage was the first one made for that company. In fact the four voyages made for Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges and their associates, were made in the following order: the first one by Hudson in 1610, and the others consecutively by Button, Gibbons and Baffin, and it is in the account which Purchas gives of the last of these that, as we have said, the remark in regard to Bileth occurs to which we have just referred. *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, III. 836.

²⁾ Rymer's *Foedera*, VII. 115 (2d Ed.).

I.

THE INVITATION TO HUDSON AND THE DUTCH MERCHANTS.

During the short period to which our knowledge of Hudson is confined he visited Holland and sojourned there several months. He left London upon the invitation of the Directors of the Dutch East India Company of the Chamber of Amsterdam, to confer with them in regard to another voyage to the North on their account. This was during the winter of 1608—9, after he had returned from his second voyage. His skill, resolution and success had then become known in Holland; we say success, because he had reached, as was supposed, that tempting region of Arctic exploration, the open Polar sea, the anomaly of the North. There were learned men and astute merchants in those days in the City of Amsterdam, as we will see, who reasoned out the North-east passage in that direction, in consequence of this apparently iceless condition of the polar waters, with entire confidence in its speedy and successful accomplishment. Hudson was no sooner out of employment, therefore, than his presence at Amsterdam was requested by the Chamber of the East India Company, there established, which comprised among its members many enterprising merchants. They had however a particular motive in seeking to secure his services. They wished to forestal others, and especially their own countrymen in the discovery, and thus prevent any interference with their chartered monopoly

of the East India trade. The evidence of this policy distinctly appears in the resolutions and proceedings of the general council of all the Chambers of the Company, called the Council of Seventeen, and carries us back a few years earlier than the time of Hudson's visit in the history of the country, while it brings to our view some of the more prominent individuals connected with the great commercial movement which then agitated the nation.

Previous to the revolution, when the United Provinces asserted their independence, the Dutch had not extended their commercial operations beyond the Mediterranean and the Baltic; but no sooner had they fairly embarked in that contest and assumed a national character for themselves, than they entered upon the great field of foreign enterprise and distant navigation with an ardor which soon brought them up to the first rank of daring and successful explorers. A large portion of this new impulse was due to that element of the population which had emigrated from Antwerp and other commercial and trading cities of the Spanish Netherlands, refugees for conscience sake; to whom, indeed, much more of the maritime greatness and prosperity of the United Provinces are to be attributed than has been generally conceded. The commercial history, however, of Holland and her sister provinces remains to be written ¹⁾. It is for us to mention those persons only

¹⁾ Though a commercial history of Holland has yet to be written, numerous valuable contributions have appeared since, i. a.: R. Fruin, *Tien jaren uit den 80jarigen oorlog*. 6th ed. 1904. — S. Muller Fzn., *De Noordsche Compagnie*. 1874. — O. van Rees, *Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde*. 1868. — J. H. de Stoppelaar, *Balthasar de Moucheron*. 1901, and many others.

who are connected with our purpose with such few facts in relation to them as we have been enabled to pick up from scattered quarters.

Foremost, if not first, among these was Balthazar de Moucheron, of Zeeland, who had established himself as a merchant at Veere, near Middelburg, in that province. His father, a person of noble descent, emigrated from Normandy to Antwerp. Balthazar was born in the latter place but fled from thence on account of religious persecution to Zeeland. He there embarked in the Muscovy trade, and one of his vessels having proceeded as far as Archangel in the year 1584, the branch of the Dwina upon which that city is situated was from that circumstance afterwards known among the Dutch as Moucheron's river. Having received favorable reports from his factors in that region relative to a passage to the Indies by the sea of Tartary, he memorialized the States of Holland and Zeeland to send out an expedition for the purpose of exploring that route, offering on his own part to join in the expense upon condition of being permitted to participate proportionately in the future profits. The result will be referred to presently. De Moucheron subsequently engaged in the trade to the East Indies by the way of the Cape of Good Hope; but was compelled to relinquish it on his private account by the incorporation of the East India Company, to which the exclusive privilege of that trade by the then known routes was granted. He was, however, named by the charter a director of the Company for the Chamber of Zeeland, but it was without his consent, and he never acted in that capacity. Mr. Lambrechtsen's conjecture that the Zeeland directors were deterred from aiding the expedition sent out under Hudson "by

reason of information received from their colleague, Balthazar Moucheron, of the unfortunate result of the former voyages ¹⁾, is therefore not well founded. Had De Moucheron been a director his course would probably have been quite different, as any hostility on his part would have been foreign to his enterprising character. The last trace which we find of him is in the latter part of the year 1609, at Paris, where he had gone for the purpose of establishing a trade to the Cape of Good Hope under the sanction of the King of France, at the same time that Le Maire, Spilbergen and others were assembled there for the purpose of furthering the wishes of Henry in relation to the organization of a French East India Company ²⁾.

There was another eminent merchant in the Netherlands, a Walloon by birth, who was also actively

¹⁾ N. C. Lambrechtsen van Ritthem, *Korte beschrijving van de ontdekking en der verdere lotgevallen van Nieuw-Nederland*. 1818. p. 9: „De Zeeuwsehe Bevelhebberen verklaarden er zich tegen, afgeschrikt waarschijnlijk door den ongelukkigen uitslag der voorgaande togten waaromtrent zij door hunnen ambtgenoot Balthazar Moucheron, die reeds voorlang den handel op het Noorden gedreven had, konden onderrigt worden”.

²⁾ Letters of F. van Aerssen, agent of the States General in France, dated Paris the 16th and 25th December 1609, in the Archives at the Hague. De Moucheron has been curiously enough mixed up with the voyage of Hudson, as may be seen by consulting our leading histories — probably through the statement of Lambrechtsen above referred to, though his remark, as we have observed, is a mere surmise. We have therefore carefully examined the Books of Resolutions of the Chamber of Zeeland, which give the names of all the Directors attending each meeting of the Chamber, from the organization of the East India Company until long after the time in question, in order to ascertain the truth on the subject. The result of the investigation was very unexpectedly the revelation of the fact, as above stated, of his not having accepted the post of Director, since it appears that he never attended

engaged at this time, in nautical affairs. This was Isaac Le Maire of Amsterdam, a native of Tournay in Hainault, who had by means of his brothers, established commercial connections with Spain, Italy and Portugal, one of them residing in each of those countries. He also entered into the East India trade at its outset, before the incorporation of the General Company, and was consequently by the charter of that Company, according to the plan upon which it was formed of uniting all existing interests, constituted a director for the Chamber of Amsterdam, but apparently, as in the case of De Moucheron, against his will. He appears, however, to have acted as such for a year or two; but in 1604, he ceased to do so and began on the contrary to set on foot various enterprises, having for their object the discovery of new routes to the East Indies, in opposition to the monopoly of the Company. One of the expeditions which he equipped at the expense of the King of France was designed to attempt the North-east passage, and, about a month after Hudson had left Holland, actually sailed in his wake. After the return of this vessel he repaired to Paris where, as we have already said, he had gone to pursue his negotiations with King Henry in relation to forming a French East India Company. Delayed first by the opposition of Sully in this project, he was compelled entirely to abandon it by the assassination of the King in the

a single meeting of the Chamber. Those who wish to refer to the authorities for the few incidents which we have been enabled to collect in regard to him from printed sources may consult *La Grande Chronique Ancienne et Moderne de Hollande, Zelande etc.*, par Jean Francois Le Petit, II p. 651; and *De Navorscher*, VI. p. 344. — See also: de Stoppelaar, *Balthasar de Moucheron*. 1901.

following year. He was more successful in accomplishing his immediate purpose in the expedition of which he was half-owner, fitted out in the year 1616 under Schouten and Jacob Le Maire, his son, who discovered the straits of Le Maire and Cape Horn, thus in fact opening to private enterprise two new routes to the East Indies not mentioned and therefore not prohibited to others by the terms of the East India Company's Charter. Few men in any age have shown such an energetic spirit in the advancement of maritime discovery as Le Maire. He became well acquainted with Hudson during the stay of the latter in Holland, and readily adopted his views in regard to the Northern passage. He was only prevented by accident from securing to himself the services of that navigator for his own expedition to the North.

Distinguished in another and not less important branch of Dutch navigation, that of collecting the necessary nautical information and directing attention to the importance of the work, was a third individual, also from the Flemish provinces, who may be styled as regards his qualifications and his labors in the paths just indicated, the Hakluyt of the Netherlands. Like his great English prototype, Peter Plancius was also a minister of the Church. He was born in Flanders, but was compelled in the latter part of the sixteenth century, during the height of the troubles there, to leave his native country and seek an asylum in the North, whither he fled and became minister of the Reformed Church at Amsterdam. He was equally renowned in his day for his geographical knowledge and for his theological zeal in opposition to the religious tenets of Arminius and the Remonstrants. We find him

interesting himself in the schemes of William Usselinx for the establishment of a West India Company as early as the year 1600 ¹⁾. He was zealous in collecting information from seafaring men and other practical sources, and diligent in promoting by his advice and knowledge all enterprises of discovery. His reasoning in support of Hudson's views on the subject of an open northern sea was curious and will be adverted to in its proper place.

There were three other persons, all probably of Batavian origin, well representing that ancient element of the population during this period of maritime activity in the United Provinces, who were all more or less connected with the particular voyage of Hudson. These were Dirck van Os ²⁾, Pieter Dirkszoon Hasselaer and Jan Janszoon Carel de oude, or Senior. These individuals serve as a link to unite that voyage with the earlier ones sent out by the Dutch to the North, inasmuch as they were interested in the latter on their private account, and were also members of the East India Company of the Chamber of Amsterdam at the time of the engagement of Hudson. But Dirck van Os presents the particular claim upon our attention of being the only one of them who is found in treaty with the navigator; thus leading us to the conviction that he was probably one of the leading spirits of the enterprise, as he was of the negotiation on the part of the Company. He was a man of enlarged views and of a laborious disposition. He was the originator and head, until his death in 1612, of one of the first great under-

¹⁾ Van Meteren, Boek 27.

²⁾ His portrait, engraved by W. Steelink, faces the title of the first edition of this book.

takings to drain the extensive lakes of Holland and to convert them into arable land, that of the Beemster, a work with which another celebrated name, William Usselincx, is also associated ¹⁾. Hasselaer, who was from Haarlem and had distinguished himself among its defenders during its memorable siege, was at the time of which we speak a member of the municipal council of the city of Amsterdam ²⁾. Of Carel we have been enabled to find nothing beyond his connection with the enterprises here mentioned.

Besides these persons there may have been others who were associated with the earliest voyages to the North and were also promoters of that of Hudson; but if there were any such it is impossible now to designate them. The records of the time are very unsatisfactory and it is only here and there disconnectedly that one can find anything to throw light upon the subject. The inquirer has to grope his way through new and obscure passages and be content with a small recompense for his labor.

¹⁾ *Bedijking, Opkomst en Bloei van de Beemster*. Door I. Bouman. 1857. pp. 31 and 135.

²⁾ The character of Hasselaer may be judged from an incident at the siege of Haarlem, where he was a standard bearer. When that city surrendered and the Spaniards basely put a large number of the citizens to death, contrary to the pledge which they had given them, they made search after Pieter Dirkszoon Hasselaer, but apprehended his brother in his stead by mistake. Peter then made himself known, saying, "If it is the standard bearer whom you want, let this person go, I am the man." The name of Hasselaer is famous in the annals of that siege, for it was Kenau Simons Hasselaer, a rich widow, who raised a regiment of three hundred of her own sex that fought and worked as bravely and as assiduously as any of the male defenders of the city.

II.

THE FIRST EXPEDITIONS TO THE NORTH, THE ORIGIN OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND ITS POLICY IN REGARD TO THE NORTH PASSAGE.

The authorities agree in attributing to the efforts of Balthazar De Moucheron the first movement in the United Provinces which resulted in any actual attempt for the purposes of maritime discovery. This was the expedition of 1594, which was despatched by the Provinces of Holland and Zeeland to search for a passage to the North-east. In that movement De Moucheron was more than seconded by other individuals, including the three persons last mentioned. To that expedition, Van Os, Hasselaer and Carel, in conjunction with Jacob Valcke, C. Roeltius and perhaps others ¹⁾, added at their own expense a third vessel which was placed under the command of William Barendszoon, a native of the island of Terschelling, then a resident of Amsterdam, whose name and fate are to be for ever identified with the history of Arctic discovery. On the failure of the first expedition, another was sent out the following year by the two provinces, without the co-operation of the merchants, but with no better success. The two provinces, at length discouraged, gave up all further trials, but the States General offered a

¹⁾ The authorities on this point are collected in the *Geschiedenis der Stichting van de Vereenigde O. I. Compagnie etc.*, door I. A. Van der Chys. pp. 25—6, note, 2d ed. Leyden 1857.

reward of ten thousand dollars to any private persons who might make the discovery. In the year 1596 the merchants just named made a third attempt alone, when the sufferings of the crew of one of the ships, who were compelled to winter in Nova Zembla, and the consequent death of Barentszoon, without obtaining any favorable results, seemed to preclude all further efforts in that direction. But a marked success had in the mean time, attended an enterprise of another association composed of Van Os, Hasselaer, Carel and others, in the opposite quarter,— a success which was eventually to shape the commercial character of the Netherlands and to lay the foundation of the prosperity which the country enjoys at the present day. It was indeed the beginning of that chain of circumstances which led to the discovery of the Hudson river, and more remotely to the settlement of our country by the Dutch.

In the same year with the sailing of the expedition of 1594, the three energetic men whom we have named, associated themselves with six others, namely, Hendrik Hudden, Reynier Pauw, Jan Poppen, Hendrik Buyk, Syvert Pieterszoon Sem and Arend ten Grootenhuys, in a company called the „Compagnie van Verre”, or *Company of Foreign Parts*, for the purpose of carrying on a trade to the East Indies, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, in defiance of the bull of the Pope and the power of the enemies of their country, the Spaniards and their conquered dependents, the Portuguese. The association caused four ships to be built for the purpose of this trade, whence the members were called sometimes the *Bewindhebbers* or *Managers of the new ships*, and despatched them on their voyage in 1595, under the command of Cornelis Houtman. The

speculation was entirely successful and yielded remunerative profits to the owners of the vessels. Every obstacle in the way of reaching the dazzling East seemed at once to have been overcome and the coveted wealth of the Indies to lie within the grasp of the adventurers. A sudden fury for entering into this commerce seized the entire maritime interest of the Republic. A sluice-way was opened into which the whole commercial body rushed like a body of waters. Ships were fitted out from the different parts of Zeeland and North and South Holland, in great numbers. The French ambassador, De Buzanval, on the 27 August, 1597, after the return of Houtman, wrote home from Holland, "all these countries, which are full of ships and sailors, are running there like fire." Of these different parties, some made short voyages and realized enormous profits; others enriched themselves by the capture of Spanish and Portuguese carracks, which they did not hesitate to attack, wherever they met them, without regard to disparity of force. It was right thus to cripple the enemy, and to transfer the scene of war which had been confined within the borders of the oppressed to the very seat of wealth of the proud oppressor. Every Dutch ship despatched to the Indies became a privateer, and every Spanish and Portuguese vessel which could be taken was a lawful prize. Some of the adventurers, less fortunate than the others in the length of their voyages or in obtaining full cargoes, in consequence of their arriving in the Indies after the market had been stripped by others of their countrymen who had been there before them, and equally unfortunate in taking booty, obtained inadequate returns. In order to prevent this inequality on the one hand,

and to make the new element of power a more effective means of attack against the enemy on the other, the Republic determined to merge all the different interests into one by the incorporation of a General Company, making the several proprietors its managers. The project was opposed by many of them, but without effect; and finally in 1602, the charter was passed, and the Dutch East India Company organized.

This charter modelled the company somewhat on the plan of the union of the provinces, with distinct assemblies and parts, dividing it into six branches, called Chambers, each of which was managed by its own Directors, in different portions of the country — one in Amsterdam comprising one half its capital; a second in Zeeland, with one fourth of the capital; two in South Holland, with one eighth of the capital subdivided between Delft and Rotterdam; and two also in North Holland, with the remaining eighth part of the capital also subdivided between Hoorn and Enkhuizen. These Chambers were called respectively the Chambers of Amsterdam, Zeeland, Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn and Enkhuizen. A general council of seventeen directors chosen by the respective chambers from among themselves were by a majority of votes to determine all voyages; Amsterdam choosing eight, Zeeland four, and the other chambers one member each, and the seventeenth being chosen by lot by the Chambers of Zeeland, the Maas, and North Holland. This arrangement was a device to secure the rights of the smaller chambers against the power of that of Amsterdam. Each locality was secured in its proportion of the business of the Company, and each Chamber was to have the exclusive management of the ships sent out by it and to be

responsible for all the property coming into its possession. The Company was authorised to trade to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan, the only routes then known, for the period of twenty one years. The charter contained a very singular clause, which we refer to now, because it will explain a phrase in the contract with Hudson; that is, it required an account to be kept of each ten years' operations and permitted each stockholder at the end of any such term of ten years to withdraw his capital if he chose so to do. The numbers of persons who were named Directors was at the outset twenty three for the Chamber of Amsterdam, including all the Members of the *Compagnie van Verre*, except Hendrik Hudden, who had died in the mean time; fourteen for Zeeland; eleven for Delft; nine for Rotterdam; four for Hoorn; and eleven for Enkhuizen. The charter was construed, if not by the Company, by others, to limit its privileges to carrying on the India trade by the two routes particularly mentioned, namely, by way of the Cape of Good Hope and by the Straits of Magellan, and to leave the power in the States to grant to others similar privileges by new routes which might thereafter be opened. Hence it was that Le Maire, after leaving the direction of the Company, organised, as we have said, expeditions for further exploration; and that other parties entered at once into negotiations with the States for the purpose of prosecuting the particular navigation in the North, though without success. The Company itself shortly after its organization took into consideration the expediency of making an attempt to explore the Northern passage and of soliciting the necessary privileges from

the government. It is quite apparent therefore that fears or hopes of the opening of that route still lurked in the minds of some of the Directors. The Council of Seventeen determined finally that it was inexpedient to make the trial. This determination was, however, accompanied by a remarkable resolution which, while it most pointedly confirms the idea that expectations of the ultimate opening of the Northern passage existed in that body, also furnishes us with the key to the policy which led the Company subsequently to send for Hudson, and to employ him on that very service. The final action of the Council of Seventeen on this subject took place on the 7th of August 1601, and is thus entered on the minutes: "It is likewise for deliberation and resolution, whether the voyage by the North shall also again be undertaken and negotiations be had with the Noble Lords States in regard to terms and privileges for that purpose, *seeing that some private persons have already been in communication with said Lords*; the more so, as this matter was at the meeting of the Seventeen, on the 27th of February last past postponed, as appears by the seventeenth section of the proceedings of that meeting". In the margin is the following disposition of the subject: "The contents hereof are rejected, as it is deemed not serviceable to the Company; and therefore, *if this navigation should be undertaken by any private persons, it ought to be by all means prevented*" ¹⁾). The Company, in pursuance of this resolution, accordingly abandoned the idea of the Northern route and confined itself to the South. In this trade it realized immediately enormous profits, dividing

¹⁾ See Document A.

among its stockholders, thirty-seven per cent for its first two years' operations and seventy-five per cent for the next two years. It had at the time of the visit of Hudson grown already to be a mighty power, having forty large ships, besides other smaller vessels in its service, armed with six hundred pieces of cannon and manned by five thousand sailors. The government had also strengthened it by new enactments and those persons who disputed the construction that the charter of the Company was exclusive, which, indeed, if it were true, was so only by implication and not by its terms, and who therefore engaged in the trade on their own account, were, by a decree of the States General of the first of July 1606, expressly prohibited from navigating by the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan; and in the following September, by another decree, the subjects of the Netherlands were prohibited from carrying on the trade from foreign countries. Thus the monopoly seemed to be firmly established and the profits of the company to be commensurate with the most visionary hopes of its members. But great success is quite sure to produce dangerous rivals in all affairs of this kind, and while it excites the envy perhaps and taxes the ingenuity of those whom the law has excluded from a participation in its advantages also frequently gives birth in foreign countries to efforts which the law cannot reach.

III.

ANOTHER POWER, IN QUEST OF THE RICHES OF THE
INDIES, DISTURBS HUDSON'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH
THE COMPANY, WHICH FAIL, ARE RENEWED AND
FINALLY CONSUMMATED, IN CONSEQUENCE.

Great events are rarely the result of a single cause, but rather of a combination of causes and of accidental circumstances. So was it in regard to the voyage of Hudson, and we are now to allude to a singular train of incidents which led to his immediate employment by the Company and without which we should have been ignorant of the particular circumstances connected with the negotiations between them. The success attending the first operations of the Company had attracted the attention of Henry IV of France, who, in consequence, became desirous of establishing a similar association in his own kingdom. Hitherto the expeditions to Canada of which that monarch had been a promotor, had been productive only of disappointment to himself and loss of life to the adventurers, and he seemed now anxious to try his fortunes in the East, by means of the services of experienced persons from Holland. Le Maire was recommended to him as a merchant both of great experience in the India trade, and of wealth and credit, who would probably assist him in the enterprise. The King determined to employ him if possible, and for that purpose, confided the execution of his plan to M. Jeannin, one of his ambassadors at the Hague, whom he had sent there to aid

in the counsels of the States-General in their pending negotiations for a peace with Spain. The envoy immediately made overtures on the subject to Le Maire, who was, on his part, quite willing to enter into the schemes of Henry. Le Maire was of opinion, however, that it was better to wait the issue of the pending negotiations for a peace before organising the French Company, in as much as those negotiations might result in the adoption of an article in the treaty prohibiting altogether the India trade to the Dutch, in which case it would be very easy to establish a new Company in France from among the members of the then broken-up Dutch Company. Jeannin appears to have acquiesced in the delay, although he did not altogether approve of the policy of it, because it might subject the course of his sovereign to the imputation of selfish motives in urging the peace, if such a provision should be inserted in the treaty ¹). While these parties were thus waiting the conclusion of the negotiations between the governments, — a momentous period in the history of the country, — and while the East India Company was quietly realizing, as we have seen, its enormous profits from the new trade, the result of Hudson's voyages became known, in which he had reached the eighty-first degree of North latitude, being the highest point then yet attained by any navigator. The news at once disturbed the smooth course of the Directors, whose fears were now excited lest the North-east passage might indeed be accom-

¹) NÉGOCIATIONS DU PRÉSIDENT JEANNIN. *Lettre de M. de Villeroy au Sieur Jeannin, du 16 Février 1608*; and *Lettre de M. Jeannin à M. de Villeroy du 14 Mars 1608*.

plished by others, and with it might disappear the value of their franchise. In pursuance, therefore, of the line of policy which was laid down in their resolution of August 1603, of preventing such a result, if possible, they sent for Hudson, who repaired, as before stated, to Amsterdam in the latter part of the year 1608, in order to consult with them in regard to the practicability of the Northern passage ¹). The observations which Hudson had made during his former voyages and which he now communicated were new, and presented an eighth wonder of the world. He explained his experience to be in favor of an open sea in the extreme North, because having been as high up as latitude eighty-one, the further North he had gone the less cold he had found; and, instead of the land at the highest latitude which he had attained not being covered with grass and there not being

¹) NÉGOTIATIONS DU PRÉSIDENT JEANNIN. *Lettre au roi par M. Jeannin le 25 Janvier 1609, sur la recherche du passage du Nord.* Jeannin does not speak of Hudson by name, but calls him an English pilot. Were there not other proofs sufficient to establish the identity of this person with Hudson, the publication, which we are now enabled to make, of the written agreement between him and the Directors of the Company of Amsterdam, would be conclusive upon that point. This instrument was signed on the eighth of January 1608, a few days before the date of Jeannin's letter, in which he speaks of the negotiations, which had been broken off, having just before been renewed. Jeannin also says that this English pilot had already made two voyages in search of the passage by the North and had reached the height of eighty-one degrees North; whence we are at no loss to recognise Henry Hudson as the individual meant. The letters of Jeannin are full of interest on this subject; it is to these despatches that we are largely indebted for our details in relation to the negotiations of Hudson with the Company.

This important letter may be found under Document B.

any animals there except beasts of prey and such as live on flesh alone, he had observed there both herbage and different species of animals which live solely upon the productions of the land, thereby proving the existence of such productions and a consequent amelioration of the climate in those extreme regions. He remarked further that in order to reach this milder climate of the Arctic circle, instead of exploring the sea-shore in latitude seventy to seventy-four, as had been done in the previous voyages of the Dutch, and where they had been caught by the ice, which always makes most near the land, and prevented from proceeding further, it was necessary to push boldly into the open sea, where the greater depth of the water and the agitation of the waves hindered the formation of ice, and to keep therein until the eighty-third degree was reached, or even a point further North when the navigator, turning Easterly, must seek the desired passage through the Straits of Anian ¹⁾.

¹⁾ This open sea at the North pole has hitherto only served to tantalize both the enterprising and the curious. Its existence, recently again confirmed by our lamented countryman, Dr. Kane, from a different point of exploration, has been repeatedly asserted by travellers who have visited that region since Hudson. Four years only after him, in 1612, Thomas Marmaduke sailed from Hull in the ship Hopewell and reached the eighty-second degree of North latitude; but the highest point was gained by James Bisbrown, who sailed from Liverpool in 1765 and reached the extraordinary latitude of 80° 40', where he found the sea still open to the North. Dr. Hamel's *England and Russia*, translated by J. S. Leigh, p. 367. Whatever future exploration may disclose on this subject, the idea of the open Polar Sea undoubtedly originated with Henry Hudson. See: S. Müller Fzn., *De Noordsche Compagnie*, 1874, and his Introduction to *De reis van Jan Cornelisz. May*, 1611, published by the „Linschoten-Vereeniging”, 1909.

These observations of Hudson, so opposed to all previous experience in regard to the Northern regions and to the general belief, were sustained on philosophical principles by Plancius. This cosmographer argued that the sun, shining on the pole during five months constantly, though its heat is feeble, produces, in consequence of its uninterrupted continuance for that long period, a higher degree of temperature and imparts more permanent warmth to the earth and so makes it more suitable for the habitation of man and beast than it does in latitudes further South, where it rises and sets daily, and where the heat communicated by day is thrown off at night. There is therefore, he said, an intermediate line of latitude between the pole and equator, where the cold is greatest, and on either side of which, as well going towards the pole as the equator, the cold gradually diminishes. This point of extreme frigidity he fixed at the sixty-sixth degree. In illustration of his views, he instanced the case of a small fire kept a long time in one place having more power to warm than a large one which is frequently kindled and suffered to burn only a short time at each lighting.

The Amsterdam directors declared themselves satisfied in regard to the expediency of sending out an expedition but said they were not prepared to do so during the coming season. They, therefore, requested Hudson to Amsterdam the next year and obtained from him a promise to that effect. The reason of this proposed delay is to be found in the fact that it was not competent for the Chamber of Amsterdam alone to bind the whole Company. The power of sending out ships was vested in the Council of Seventeen, which only met two or

three times a year: and the next meeting of that body would not take place until the twenty-fifth of the following March and then would be held at Middelburg in Zeeland. Its determination upon the subject would therefore, even if favorable, have been too late to enable a vessel to be equipped early enough to sail that year, especially as it was insisted it ought to leave in March, and that one cause of the failure of previous attempts was leaving it till summer before the navigators left, when they found themselves, by the time they had reached the high latitudes, surprised by the formation of new ice and stopped, in consequence, from going further. The hesitation, however, of the Amsterdam directors to embark at once in the enterprise had well nigh changed the whole character of the voyage of Hudson, and it was only by an accident that the discovery of Hudson's River, did not inure to the glory of Henry the Great, and the newly discovered country become a New France, instead of a New Netherland. What would have been the destiny of the land had such been the case it is unnecessary here to contemplate, though the circumstances which we are to relate must give rise to curious speculations in inquisitive minds on that subject.

The conferences of Hudson and the Directors took place during the pause in the negotiations between the French ambassador and Le Maire. The presence of the distinguished seaman in Amsterdam and the object of his visit were known to the latter, who watched his proceedings closely, and who, as soon as the directors dismissed him, held secret interviews with him for the purpose of engaging him in the service of the King of France for the same exploration. Hudson appears to

have entertained the proposal and to have given Le Maire all the information which he had imparted to the Directors on the subject of the climate in the North. Le Maire immediately communicated the facts to Jeannin and proposed to him that King Henry should have the exploration made in his own name, offering "to furnish the vessel and the men unless His Majesty should wish to employ some persons of his own, with those of experience in former voyages whom he would furnish, and saying that in order to accomplish the undertaking not more than three or four thousand crowns would be necessary, which sum he desired to receive from His Majesty, because he did not as a private individual feel inclined to expend so much, and did not dare to communicate the matter to any body else, because the East India Company was fearful above all things of being forestalled in this design. He did not venture to speak to the Englishman except in secret. If the passage should be found it would greatly facilitate the formation of a Company ¹⁾". Jeannin conferred at the same time with Plancius, who happened to be then at the Hague, without however apprising him of the plans of his master and heard from his own lips the confirmatory views of the cosmographer. On the 25th of January 1609, he wrote a letter to the king detailing the information which he had received and venturing in very courtly style to recommend the scheme. "It is," said he, "for Your Majesty to command what is your pleasure for me to do in the premises. It is true the success of this undertaking cannot be promised with certainty, but Le Maire has long been

¹⁾ Jeannin, *Lettre du 25 janvier 1609*, see Document B.

making inquiries as to what results could be expected from this enterprise, and he is regarded as a prudent and industrious man. Then, much will not be hazarded. When Ferdinand received the opinion of Christopher Columbus and caused three ships to be equipped for him in order to make a voyage to the West Indies, the enterprise seemed at that time more doubtful, and all the other Powers to whom that man had applied ridiculed it and declared it impossible; yet what great fruits has it produced! It is the opinion of Plancius and other geographers that there are other lands which have not yet been discovered and which God may be reserving for the glory and advantage of other princes, not willing to bestow all upon Spain alone. Even if nothing should come of it, it will always be a laudable thing, and the regret will not be great, since so little will be risked ¹⁾". The interviews between Le Maire and Hudson became known however to the Amsterdam Directors and as Le Maire had apprehended would be the result, in case of such a discovery, they immediately recalled Hudson, and entered into negotiations with him anew. The circumstances are told by Jeannin in a postscript which is remarkable for its proposing another expedition. "This letter being finished", it reads, "and on the point of being sent off by me to Your Majesty, Le Maire has written me again, and has sent me the memoir, which is joined to the present letter, which also contains an ample discussion on the above subject. He also writes me, that some members of the East India Company, who had been informed that the Englishman had interviews secretly with him, were

¹⁾ See Document B.

apprehensive that he wished to employ him himself to discover this passage, and they have therefore renewed their negotiations with him to undertake the voyage the present year, the Directors of the Chamber of Amsterdam having written to that effect to the other Chambers of the same Company for their approval with the declaration that if it be refused, they will undertake it themselves. Le Maire does not however cease to exhort Your Majesty to this enterprise, informing me that he has a pilot who has already made this same voyage and is more experienced and capable than the Englishman ¹⁾". The arguments of Hudson and Plancius had their effect upon the French Monarch as well as on the Company. Upon the receipt of this letter the King wrote to the Ambassador, that though he considered Le Maire's project very doubtful and uncertain, yet it was so honorable and might be so advantageous if it should succeed, he was well satisfied to make the trial and to engage in it in his own name, if Jeannin and Le Maire judged he ought to do so; and in order to carry the design into effect he sent him a draft for four thousand crowns ²⁾. But the money came too late to employ Hudson. Indeed, the agreement between him and the Amsterdam Directors had been completed already some time before the writing of M. Jeannin's letter to the King. The plan of Le Maire was, however, carried into execution by the employment of another person in his stead. A vessel was equipped, on behalf of the King but not in his name, and sailed to the North on the fifth of May, about one month after the

¹⁾ *Négociations du Président Jeannin*. See Document B.

²⁾ *Lettre du roi du vingt-huitième Février, 1609*.

sailing of Hudson ¹⁾; but as no particular account of the voyage has been ever given to the public, it must have entirely failed, not only in the object of its search, but in adding anything to the sum of geographical knowledge. Before its return Jeannin had left the country ²⁾.

¹⁾ *Lettre de M. Jeannin à M. de Villeroy du huitième de Mai 1609.* The correspondence of Jeannin was first printed at Paris in 1656; in folio. Another edition appeared in 4 vols. 12mo. at Amsterdam in 1695; and a third was published at Paris in 1819 in 3 vols. 8vo. Two other editions have since been published, with corrections from the original manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale. We have used that of Petitot in his "Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France", Paris 1822, 8vo; but, as our references are to the dates of the letters and not to the pages of the book, no difficulty will be found in consulting any of these editions.

²⁾ The expense of the equipment of this vessel was fifteen thousand *livres*, being five thousand more than had been remitted to Jeannin. Besides this amount the captain received a present of three hundred florins on the part of the King. Le Maire put a venture in the ship of ten thousand *livres* in merchandize and cash on his own account. Jeannin, who had an interview with the Captain, speaks of him as a man well acquainted with navigation and of great experience. The expedition sailed with a letter of credence from Prince Maurice and was not known to have been sent out on account of the King of France by any other persons in Holland than Jeannin, Le Maire and his brother and the Captain. An examination of the French Archives might disclose something of interest on the subject of this expedition.

It appears from the account of Northern Russia by Isaac Massa in the Hudson tract of 1612 that Le Maire sent out another expedition to the North in 1612, and solicited Massa to join it, who refused. The whole paragraph is interesting and we give it in his own words from the Latin edition of 1612, which is more full as to this point than the others. "As the most excessive cold prevails in the straits of Nova Zembla, it is not wonderful that in consequence of the narrowness of those straits, quantities of very strong and thick ice are accumulated and heaped up to sixty or at least fifty paces in height, as was

The pilot whom Le Maire so highly commended, whoever he was and whatever his skill, was of a different spirit from Hudson, who was the very soul of the expedition under his command, and who had great resources within himself against the extraordinary obstacles which beset his course. Our navigator, when he entered upon the voyage, felt that he had something more to do than to discharge merely the orders of his employers; he was to endeavour to accomplish the object they had in view by the exercise, in extraordinary contingencies, of an intelligent discretion, and not in any event to be content without extending the limits of known exploration. The results of these two attempts made at the same time, and with the same general object in view and under similar circumstances, illustrate most strikingly the difference between the mere pilot, performing a prescribed task, and the zealous discoverer, such as Hudson was, ardent for success. While the one seems to have turned his bark homeward when the icebergs loomed up before him, with nothing to report to his employers except an

measured in this very year by those who were sent on a voyage there by Isaac Le Maire in a small vessel, which he wished me to accompany, but without avail; for I know very well and can demonstrate that that route is not open and that all those who undertake it will be deceived unless they attempt it some other way". *F. E2 verso, line 8*: "cumque in illo ad Novam Zemlam freto extrema rigeant frigora, nihil mirum, si præ ipsa freti angustia tam immaues coacerventur & coalescant glaciei moles, ut in 60, vel minimum 50 passuum crassitudinem tandem excrescant, ut hoc ipso anni demensi sunt ij, qui faciente Isaaco Lemerio, minori navigio illuc profecti sunt, quibus idem ille Lemerius me tentavit adjungere comitem, verum nequicquam, paratus namque sum demonstrare iter illud non esse pervium, & semper lusueros operam quotquot umquam id tentaturi sunt, nisi alia via rem aggrediantur".

entire failure, the other, nothing daunted or discouraged, when he saw he could no longer pursue the route marked out for him, boldly steered into other and more remote regions, discovered a new and beautiful country and, at the same time, contributed something to the great cause in which he was engaged, by demonstrating that no passage to the Indies existed at that point.

IV.

THE CONTRACT BETWEEN HUDSON AND THE COMPANY; AND THE INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE VOYAGE.

Although the enterprise in which Hudson had now engaged was at the expense and for the advantage of the East India Company, it was nevertheless through his advice and encouragement that it was undertaken. It is not, therefore, surprising that he should have had some views of his own in regard to the voyage, distinct from those of the Directors, and should have followed them when the occasion served. He, indeed, is charged with having violated the instructions which he received from them in turning westwardly when he found himself prevented by the ice from sailing to the North of Nova Zembla, and it must be confessed with some show of truth ¹⁾. The object of the Directors in sending him on the voyage, was, as sufficiently appears from the circumstances which preceded his employment, solely to discover the North-east passage in order to secure the exclusive benefit to the company of that route. We are not left however to inference as to their intentions. The contract entered into between them and Hudson distinctly states that the destination of the

¹⁾ "Hudson having run out to sea and laid his course along the North coast towards Nova Zembla, and having found the sea there on the 14th of May as full of ice as it was in the previous years, determined, contrary to his instructions, to seek another route through Davis' Straits, whither he accordingly sailed." *MS. history of the East India Company by P. van Dam, in the Archives at the Hague.* See Document C.

vessel was to the North and thence around the North side of the island of Nova Zembla; and the instructions, after repeating this destination and to the straits of Anian, expressly prohibit Hudson from attempting any other route, and, in case of failure in the direction laid down, direct him to return to Holland. These documents which have only recently come to light must, however, speak for themselves, and are of so interesting a character that we are happy of the opportunity of now making them known. The contract exists entire, the instructions in abstract only. The former in consequence of Hudson's ignorance of the Dutch language was executed on his part with the aid of Jodocus Hondius as interpreter. For the reasons stated by Jeannin ¹⁾ it was made with the Chamber of Amsterdam only and is signed by two directors on its behalf. It is as follows:

„Contract with Henry Hudson ²⁾).

“On this eighth of January in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and nine, the Directors of the East India Company of the Chamber of Amsterdam of the ten years reckoning of the one part, and Mr. Henry Hudson, Englishman, assisted by Jodocus Hondius, of the other part, have agreed in manner following, to wit: That the said directors shall in the first place equip a small vessel or yacht of about thirty lasts ³⁾ burden, with which, well provided with men, provisions

¹⁾ See Document B.

²⁾ „ „ D.

³⁾ Sixty tons.

and other necessities, the above named Hudson shall about the first of April, sail, in order to search for a passage by the North, around by the North side of Nova Zembla, and shall continue thus along that parallel until he shall be able to sail Southward to the latitude of sixty degrees. He shall obtain as much knowledge of the lands as can be done without any considerable loss of time, and if it is possible return immediately in order to make a faithful report and relation of his voyage to the Directors, and to deliver over his journals, log-books and charts, together with an account of everything whatsoever which shall happen to him during the voyage without keeping anything back; for which said voyage the Directors shall pay to the said Hudson, as well for his outfit for the said voyage, as for the support of his wife and children, the sum of eight hundred guilders ¹⁾; and, in case (which God prevent) he do not come back or arrive hereabouts within a year, the Directors shall further pay to his wife two hundred guilders in cash; and thereupon they shall not be further liable to him or his heirs, unless he shall either afterwards or within the year arrive and have found the passage good and suitable for the Company to use; in which case the Directors wil reward the before named Hudson for his dangers, trouble and knowledge in their discretion, with which the before mentioned Hudson is content. And in case the Directors think proper to prosecute and continue the same voyage, it is stipulated and agreed with the before named Hudson, that he shall make his residence in this country with his wife and

¹⁾ Three hundred and twenty dollars.

children, and shall enter into the employment of no one other than the Company, and this at the discretion of the Directors, who also promise to make him satisfied and content for such further service in all justice and equity. All without fraud or evil intent. In witness of the truth, two contracts are made hereof of the same tenor and are subscribed by both parties and also by Jodocus Hondius, as interpreter and witness. Dated as above. (*signed*) DIRK VAN OS, J. POPPE, HENRY HUDSON, (*Lower down signed*) Jodocus Hondius, witness ¹⁾".

Independently of its historical importance, this interesting paper forcibly arrests attention to some of its details. The modest means with which it was proposed to execute the design, — a single vessel of sixty tons, do not conform to the modern idea of exploring expeditions; but the expeditions sent out for the purposes of discovery in those days were all arranged on a small scale, though this one, if not the smallest of them all, was certainly much smaller than the greater portion of them. Considering the dangerous service upon which

¹⁾ Jodocus (that is, Joost or Justus) Hondius who acted as the interpreter and friend of Hudson, on this occasion, was an eminent engraver of maps, who, like Plancius, was a Fleming by birth and had fled from his country during the revolutionary troubles. He first went to London, and established himself there in business, but afterwards removed to Amsterdam, which for many years both before that time and afterwards was a great centre of map-making, and where he died two years after the above document was signed. He was succeeded by his son Henry Hondius, who also became eminent in the map business.

The baptismal name of Hudson, both in the body of the instrument and in the signature, in the Dutch copy, is spelt in plain English, HENRY. The practice in America of giving it the Dutch etymology, *Hendrik*, is therefore more honored in the breach than in the observance.

the vessel was to be employed, who will not say that Hudson was actuated by the most ardent zeal for the promotion of discovery and by the spirit of a true explorer which forgets all other personal considerations in the hope of success and its crowning glory? Neither did he seek reward for his toils and dangers in the pecuniary compensation which he was to be allowed either for the time or the future. The amount which was paid him for the voyage was insignificant, and for his future employment was left entirely undetermined. He no doubt had full confidence in the honor of his employers. But when we read that it was in the contemplation of the parties that he might perish in the attempt in those distant and unexplored regions, as indeed he was after all destined to do, we see how great was his confidence in himself to have been content with the paltry pittance which was stipulated, in that event, to be paid to his wife and children. On the other hand, we have a confirmation of the statement of Jeannin of the determination of the Chamber of Amsterdam to carry out the enterprise at its own expense, if necessary, and of the circumstances which brought it to that resolution. We may, too, readily conclude from the signatures on behalf of the Company who were foremost to promote the enterprise. No doubt, in the then existing emergency, all of the directors felt desirous of preventing by all the means in their power the apparently ripe fruit from dropping into the hands of Le Maire, yet we cannot be mistaken in saying that Dirk van Os regarded it with peculiar interest. In entrusting the execution of a measure determined upon by them, deliberative bodies are not apt to select any others than those who are its friends and its advocates

and who are impressed with a sense of its importance. Who would in the present case have urged this measure more strongly than he who had been one of the first adventurers in the North, and whose life had been devoted to grand and bold enterprises?

Although the contract was, from the urgency of the case, made by the Amsterdam directors upon their own responsibility, it appears to have received the sanction of the other chambers and to have been fully assumed by the whole Company before the sailing of the expedition. Indeed it is not easy to conceive that there could have been any opposition on the part of the other chambers, as they stood pledged by the express policy of the Company to prevent the passage being discovered by others. Mr. Lambrechtsen states, however, that the enterprise did not meet with the approbation of the Zeeland directors; but we have not been able to find in the proceedings of the Council of Seventeen or of the Chamber of Zeeland any evidence to support his statement ¹). Still, as a majority of the Council was sufficient to adopt the measure, the opposition by that Chamber would not have been of any avail, unsupported by all the others. The action of the Council of Seventeen was, as a body, distinctly in favor of the expedition, as we find, at its first meeting after the contract was made, a resolution adopted by it committing the preparation of the instructions for the vessel to the Chamber of Amsterdam ²); and at

¹) See however documents *Ea—e* which were unknown to Murphy.

²) See Document F. All the members of the Council were present at this meeting. Those from the Chamber of Amsterdam were Jan Jansz. Carel, Jan Poppe, Bernaerd Berwijns, Marcus de Vogelaer, Direk van

the following meeting, held on the first of September, after Hudson had sailed, the directors of the Chamber of Amsterdam called upon to report the orders and instructions given to the vessel ¹⁾; when they accordingly delivered copies of the contract and instructions to each of the Chambers. It thus not only appears that the expedition was at the charge of the whole company, but that it sailed with written instructions. It is therefore desirable to know what were those instructions, in order to understand the particular views of the Company as to the destination of the vessel. They are not extant in full, but the portion of them relating to the question under consideration has been preserved by Mr. van Dam. We have just seen that copies of the contract and instructions accompanied each other; and as we are indebted to Mr. van Dam for a copy of the former we may fairly conclude that he had a copy of the instructions before him when he wrote and claimed to give their contents. These instructions are quoted by him in support of his censure of the conduct of Hudson in seeking the passage through the lands of America. He thus states the facts: "This Company in the year 1609 fitted out a yacht of about 30 lasts burthen and engaged a Mr. Henry Hudson, an Englishman, and a skilful pilot, as master thereof, with orders to search for the aforesaid passage by the North and North-east above Nova Zembla, towards the lands or

Os, Jan Harmanssen, Gerraerd Reynst and Elbert Symonsz. Joncheyn. The minutes of the proceedings of the Chamber of Amsterdam contain a single reference only to Hudson. On the 19th of January that body directed a payment of one hundred and fifty guilders to him on account of his wages. See Document E *d* (note).

¹⁾ See Document G.

straits of Anian, and then to sail at least as far as the sixtieth degree of North latitude, when if the time permitted he was to return from the straits of Anian again to this country. And he was *further ordered* by his instructions, to think of discovering no other routes or passages, except the route around by the North and North-east above Nova Zembla; *with this additional provision*, that if it could not be accomplished at that time, another route would be the subject of consideration for another voyage ¹⁾". These instructions seem, particularly by the last clause, to have contemplated such a contingency of failure in the North-east as actually happened, and to have left no course for the master to pursue except to return home. Yet we must not judge too hastily that such was the intention. There is another construction less harsh which may have been adopted by Hudson. It may be possible that the idea of the vessel being stopped at the outset by the ice before reaching Nova Zembla or entering upon the exploration at all, as was the fact, never occurred to the minds of the Directors, and such a difficulty was not the failure provided against by them. In that case, Hudson would certainly have had a discretionary power to employ the ship, for the time, at least, for which the crew was engaged, to the best advantage of the owners consistently with the purposes for which she was equipped; and the consent to that course of the crew, and particularly of the officers of the vessel, who were all consulted on the subject by Hudson, shows that they at least so thought. A still stronger circumstance in Hudson's favor is, that no

¹⁾ See Document H.

such charge was made against him at the time in any account of the voyage, and especially in that of Van Meteren, in whose way particularly it would have come to speak of it, and who must have known it, if it were true. The authority of Mr. van Dam is unquestionably of the most reliable character for the facts which he gives; but his opinion is to be deferred to only so far as those facts warrant it, in regard to which every reader will exercise his own independent judgment; and therefore for ourselves, while we confess the instructions apparently sustain his position, we are nevertheless loth to conclude with him that the Directors were so blind to their own interests as to have required the yacht to return ere she had entered upon the exploration and when the expenses had all been incurred; or, on the other hand, that Hudson would have deliberately disregarded their orders. But whatever may have been the views of the Directors, there can be no doubt as to those of Hudson. The state of the ice, as he found it, must have been anticipated as possible by him, if not by them, and he accordingly, as we will see, sailed, prepared for such an emergency. It may be urged that he should in that case have communicated such intentions to the Company. Even that he may have done; but if not, and if he thus showed an undue reserve, we may pardon something to the irrepressible spirit and daring intrepidity of the man, and the noble end which was the great object of his ambition.

We proceed, in the final pursuit of our inquiry, to the unfolding of these purposes of Hudson; and to show how and why he came to make the discovery of our river in a voyage distinctly undertaken for

exploration in an opposite direction. A distinguished writer on Arctic Voyages has expressed himself as unable to understand what business the navigator had on the shores of America. The mystery, if such it has been, need no longer exist.

V.

HUDSON, BEFORE LEAVING HOLLAND, CONTEMPLATES EXPLORING THE COAST OF AMERICA IN LATITUDE FORTY AND IN DAVIS' STRAITS.

The ulterior plans of Hudson are not to be gathered from the records of the Company. An explanation of the course which he deemed proper to pursue, in the actual circumstances which befel him, whether opposed to the wishes of his employers or not, might be found perhaps in his own journal of the voyage, or in his communications to the Company, after his return, if they existed; but diligent search assures us that these papers are irrecoverably lost ¹⁾. Resort, therefore, must be had to other sources of information, if any such there be. Fortunately, at least, for his fame as a discoverer, if not for his exculpation from the charge of a disregard of the wishes of the Company, there does exist the means of showing the motives which influenced his conduct; and that it was not by accident he came to Hudson's River, any more than the discovery of the West Indies, by Columbus, when he sought the East Indies, is to be so considered. It was, on the contrary, in pursuance of strong convictions in his own mind of the existence of an opening in the lands

¹⁾ The journal of Hudson was in the possession of De Laet when he wrote his *Nieuwe Wereldt, ofte Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien*, 1625, and may have been retained by him, but we have not been able to discover that there is any representative of his family now living in this country.

of America to the North of Virginia, connecting with what we know now to be the great lakes, and of an intention to prove or disprove that belief, that he was led to turn the prow of his little shallop, fearlessly across the Atlantic. On the 6th of April 1609 ¹⁾, he sailed out of the Helder in the yacht *Halve Maan*, HALF MOON, after four months' residence in Holland, leaving behind him some who felt interested in his personal welfare, but whom he was destined never again to see. He was to have returned to give an account of his voyage and to deliver the vessel up to the owners, but it was his misfortune to have a mutinous crew, who compelled him to stop in an English port on his return, where an Order in Council directed him to remain and do service for his own country. Certainly no stronger evidence could be produced to show the high estimation in which his qualifications were held than the adoption of such an extraordinary measure by the British government; but the exercise of this high prerogative, while, perhaps it gave Hudson up to a terrible end, terminated also his connection with the Dutch East India Company, and prevented him from again seeing the friends whom he had left behind him in Amsterdam. He was not however forgotten by them. When at the end of three years, the news at once joyful and sad, came to them that he had in another voyage discovered the long sought-for passage, through an opening in Davids' Straits and that he had been there abandoned by an unprincipled crew, Hessel Gerritsz, of Amsterdam, published, with their assistance, a brief account in the

¹⁾ New Style. See Appendix, Note A.

Dutch language of the new discovery in a publication entitled: "Description of the land of the Samoieds in Tartary. With an account of the search and discovery of the new passage or strait in the Northwest to the kingdoms of China and Cathay, etc." This tract enables us to fix the time when Hudson conceived the plan of crossing to America. Van Meteren informs us that Hudson, when he could not penetrate the ice in the North, submitted two distinct propositions to his crew as to their further operations, one of which was to steer for the coast of America in latitude forty and the other to go to Davis' Straits, the latter of which they chose. For aught that appears in the account given by the historian, this determination of Hudson might have been formed upon the spur of the moment; but we find in the publication at Amsterdam just mentioned evidence both that Hudson, before he entered upon the voyage, intended to make the search in those directions, and the reasons for this determination. The statement of Van Meteren was derived from the first officer or mate of the *Halve Maan*, as we suppose, for reasons which we will give presently and is, on other accounts, entitled to entire confidence ¹⁾. Now, the little book published at Amsterdam contains a map of Hudson's recent discovery, of which an account is printed on the back of the map, where the writer says: "Mr. Hudson, who has several times sought a passage to the Westward, had the idea of coming to an outlet sea through Lumley's Inlet from Davis' Straits, *as we have seen on his map in Mr. Plancius' possession*, and thus to run into the South

¹⁾ See Appendix, Note B.

Sea on the West side of New England ¹⁾, where an Englishman, as *he* had marked out, had been; but after making several trials, he found the passage which is designated upon *this* map ²⁾, and which he would have pursued, had the sailors not been unwilling etc." This is an explicit declaration that the attempts by Hudson in his previous voyage to pass through the lands of America was in pursuance of a belief that there might be an opening there, and Plancius is not only given as the authority for it, but as having in his possession the evidence of it, derived from Hudson himself. Thus the time when Hudson conceived the plan is fixed. We are carried back to the period when he was in Holland, to those conferences which took place between him and the cosmographer when the subject of common interest to them, the routes by which the discovery of the passage was to be essayed, was discussed, and when for their mutual information, the experience of the one was compared with the facts which had been collected by the other. No other

¹⁾ NOVA ALBION, NEW ENGLAND. It is said by Rich that the first mention in print of the name of New England, as applied to this part of America, was in Capt. Smith's: "*Description of New England*", published in 1616. We have here the name applied to it in a Dutch book printed four years before that date, in connection with information derived from the originator of the name, at least three years earlier still. The circumstance is not only an interesting one in the history of that part of our country, but has an obvious bearing in favor of the accuracy of the whole statement with which it is given.

²⁾ That is, the map here given, upon which this account is printed. As the passage above cited is not in the Latin edition of 1613 which, though amplified in other particulars, omits mention of the map of Captain Smith, we give it here in the original. See Document M.

opportunity of their meeting, at which this map could have been given to Plancius, had afterwards occurred. It is then virtually Plancius himself who here tells us that when Hudson left on his voyage for the East India Company he had the intention of seeking the passage in the West by the route delineated on that map.

The idea thus entertained by Hudson was based upon information derived from Captain John Smith and the journals of Captain Weymouth, who had, one or other of them, visited the regions indicated by Hudson to his crew and who had held out encouragement that the passage was there to be found. Captain Smith had explored the Chesapeake and run up its confluent, where he had doubtless heard from the natives of the existence of the great inland seas which debouch through the St. Lawrence. He is the Englishman referred to in the account of Plancius above given, as we learn from Van Meteren; and we thus see how the two accounts, proceeding from different and independent sources, remarkably explain and confirm each other. Speaking of the plans of Hudson, when he encountered the ice, Van Meteren says: "Master Hudson gave them (the crew) their choice between two things, the first was to go to the coast of America at the fortieth degree of latitude, mostly incited to this by letters and maps which a certain Captain Smith had sent him from Virginia, and on which he showed him a sea by which he might circumnavigate their Southern Colony from the North and from thence pass into a Western sea: the other proposition was, to seek the passage by Davis' Straits ¹⁾".

¹⁾ See Document K.

Captain Smith's map, had indeed been already published with his account of the Colony of Virginia, before Hudson visited Holland ¹⁾; but it is evident both from the account of Van Meteren, who says that letters and maps were sent by Smith to Hudson, and that a Western sea was marked on the map, and from Hudson's map in Plancius' possession, also showing this sea, that Hudson relied upon something more than the public statements of the renowned Captain, and was probably in actual correspondence with him: but the communications of Captain Smith related, it will be observed, to the existence of a Western sea behind the English colony, and to a Northerly opening to it from the Atlantic. Hudson however was led to think that the strait might be found as far South as latitude forty, though his main dependence was upon a more Northerly point and in fact at or near the straits which he afterwards discovered and which bear his name.

We will now see both how he came to form this opinion and a more distinct indication of his purposes. The little book of Hessel Gerritsz. afterwards assumed a new garb. It had evidently attracted public attention, especially that part of it relating to Hudson's last discovery. It was enlarged and translated into Latin, and with still further enlargements and corrections passed into a second Latin edition, under the supervision of Gerritsz. himself, besides being translated into German, and published in other countries. In the form

¹⁾ Smith's book was published in London, 1608, in small 4to, and bears the following title, "A true relation of such occurrences and accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia, since the first planting of that Collony" etc. His map of Virginia, containing his discoveries in the Chesapeake, appeared first in this volume.

which it finally assumed we have further evidence, that the facts in regard to Hudson's voyage for the East India Company came from Plancius himself; but for these bibliographical details we refer the reader to the appendix ¹⁾. The account as finally corrected says Hudson was of opinion that the route which once Captain George Weymouth had taken would lead to the Western sea spoken of by the Englishman. Now Weymouth had made two voyages to America, one in 1602, and the other in 1605, in one, if not both, of which he had been at the entrance of Hudson's Straits and in the latter had been on the coast of America as far South as latitude $41^{\circ} 30'$ North. There were therefore two important points which he had touched but left undecided, and which no other voyagers had explored, where possibly the opening to the sea, spoken of by Smith, might be reached, one through Hudson's Straits, and the other in about latitude forty. Gosnold, who was on the coast of America in 1602, had, like Weymouth, gone South, only to about $41^{\circ} 30'$; and the navigators to the Southern Colony of Virginia had, on the other hand, not sailed farther North than latitude thirty-eight or thereabouts, leaving two hundred miles of the intermediate coast unexplored. Therefore it was that Hudson fixed upon the fortieth degree as one point of exploration, and afterwards, in carrying his purpose into effect, sailed down as far as the Chesapeake, and from thence began his examination Northwardly and so fell into the Hudson river. The reason, too, why he presented the two propositions to his crew is made manifest. It was evidently immaterial to him to which

¹⁾ See Appendix Note C.

of the two points they sailed in the first instance, as, in case of failure in one direction, they could proceed to the other without much loss of time; while apparently it showed confidence in the crew on his part, and calmed the dissatisfaction which they had manifested, by leaving the route to them.

Plancius appears to have put Hudson in possession of what Weymouth had done, having obtained the journals of both of the voyages of the latter and delivered them to Hudson *at his request*. It is in this fact, of *seeking* the use of the journals of Weymouth when he was on the point of leaving on his voyage, that the purposes of Hudson are clearly signified, when taken in connection with what he actually did do. The whole of that part of the Amsterdam tract relating to Hudson's discoveries may now be introduced to the reader, who will find also in the portion of it not immediately relevant to our subject matter of interest in regard to the navigator. It is from the Latin edition of 1613, and is as follows ¹⁾:

¹⁾ See Document Q.

"Description and geographical delineation of the discovery of the strait or passage to China and Japan, above the land of America".

"The very fortunate voyages of the English, and the great success which has attended them, have added more and more stimulus to that people to undertake new projects of discovery; and although they have been most laboriously engaged in the East, along the shores of Muscovy, Nova Zembla and Greenland, they have, nevertheless, employed themselves in the West (Virginia being now occupied and settled by their colonies), in order to discover a passage between Greenland and New-France. Having entered a passage towards the North obstructed by snow and ice, they attained the latitude of seventy or eighty degrees. This strait was named after the first discoverer John Davis. The last one who attempted the same route was Captain George Weymouth, who in the year 1602, sailed in it fifty leagues, when like others before him he was compelled by the great quantity of ice to return home. But not disheartened, he sailed *a second time*, and endeavored in latitude sixty-one to penetrate the bay, which the English call Lumles Inlet, where, after he had gone a hundred leagues West, he turned to the South and finding no passage by reason of the closing of the land, was compelled in consequence of the imbecility of his crew and other causes to return. He, nevertheless, explored two other bays, between that land and what they call Baccalaos, having the greatest extent of water, like as of a sea, and the greatest rise and fall of the tide. Although this voyage did not at that time answer expectations, yet the journals of George Weymouth

which fell into the hands of Domine P. Plancius, a most curious investigator of new matters useful to our country and nautical science, were of the greatest service to H. Hudson, in his exploration of this famous strait, *for in the year 1609, when he was negotiating with the Directors of the India Company about exploring a passage to China and Cathay above Nova Zembla, he begged these journals from D. P. Plancius*; and from them he inferred that the route of George Weymouth, through the straits above Virginia would lead to the ocean which bounds that country. Hence the opinion prevailed that by that way there was a passage open to the Indies, though it was fallacious, as Domine P. Plancius assured him upon the relation of a person who had explored the Western part of that same country and declared that it was a continuous land. Hudson, *notwithstanding this*, finding his course to the East and Nova Zembla blocked by ice and snow, sailed Westwardly, in order that he might see if there were any hope remaining, *not in a direct course*, as is said, in order that he might get some profit for our country and the Directors. Exchanging his merchandize in New France for skins, he returned safely to England, where he was accused of having undertaken the voyage to the detriment of his own country. He again embarked with *no less determination to explore the Western route*, and arriving in Davis' Straits in the year 1610, in latitude sixty-one, entered the passage of George Weymouth, explored all the coasts delineated in the accompanying map, as far as latitude sixty three, and then steered Southerly to latitude fifty four, where he wintered. Leaving here he coasted along the Western shore as far as latitude sixty, sailing in a straight course four hundred leagues, where

he discovered a large open sea with heavy waves from the North-west. From these circumstances Hudson had no little encouragement of effecting the passage; nor was the consent of his ship's officers wanting, though the unwillingness and badfeeling of his crew presented objections, arising from the want of provisions, of which only an eight month's supply had been provided, while nothing fit to eat had fallen into their hands, during the whole voyage, except that an Indian, armed with a Mexican or Japan dagger, brought them one animal. Hudson conjectured from this that the man had come from a great distance, from the Mexicans whose arms and articles of traffic he had seen. The malevolence of the crew at length prevailed and they exposed Hudson and the other officers in a boat on the sea, and themselves sought their own country, where, when they arrived, they were thrown into prison and there detained for their foul crime, until Hudson, their Captain, should be restored safe, by those persons to whom that matter was entrusted last year, 1612, by order of the Prince of Wales of pious memory and the Directors of the Russian navigation. Hitherto nothing has been heard of their return; hence some hope exists that they have passed through those Straits, and therefore we can know nothing certain concerning our abandoned ones, until they shall have returned to England, either by way of the East Indies, or after having transacted their business with the Chinese and Japanese, by the same way; for which happy and auspicious event we fervently pray.

Nor is that zeal subsided among our citizens of Amsterdam, who some months ago despatched a ship with the view of searching for the passage or Straits of Hudson, and of ascertaining whether there was any

place for commerce in those countries, and, if the result should not be favorable, of trading upon the coast of New-France”.

The material part of this account as regards the plans of Hudson is that portion of it which may be called the inducement to the discovery of the new passage, namely, his previous attempt in the same direction. The object of the writer is to show when and how the idea originated with Hudson. The time is stated to have been when he was on his visit to Holland and the way he came to conceive it was by examining the journals of Weymouth; but what concerns the point relative to Hudson's credit as a discoverer is, in the first place, the remark to which we have already alluded, that he *asked to have the journals of Weymouth* from Plancius. What was his motive in this demand? In the absence of any thing positive to guide us we might suggest half a dozen reasons; but, with the knowledge that he had Smith's map, and that when he came to sail and meet with obstacles in the North he had two routes matured in his mind which could have been only the result of Weymouth's previous explorations, there is only one reply, that it was for the purpose of making use of them on his pending voyage. In the second place, moreover and more directly to the point, Plancius, for it is he who speaks, does not leave us to infer his meaning in this regard. When he mentions that Hudson was going upon his last voyage he says, he “*again* embarked with *no less determination* to explore the Western route,” than he had done on the previous voyage. He thus avers distinctly, though not directly, that Hudson had such determination when he started upon the

expedition for the East India Company. In this remark, Plancius, whether wittingly or unwittingly, performed an act of true friendship for the navigator, as it relieves Hudson from the charge of being a mere rover, without any intelligent or definite purpose; and in giving the journals of Weymouth to Hudson, he evidently understood that they were to be employed on the voyage.

The indebtedness of Hudson to Weymouth appears to have been understood by some of the old navigators, as we find Capt. Luke Foxe alluding to it in his *North West Fox* ¹⁾, where he says of Weymouth and his voyage in 1602; "Hee neither discovered nor named any thing more than Davis, nor had any sight of Groenland, nor was not so farre North; nor can I conceive hee hath added anything more to this designe; yet these two, Davis and *he* did, I conceive, light Hudson into his straights". An account of Weymouth's first voyage was not published until seventeen years after the visit of Hudson to Holland, when it appeared in Purchas. It is therefore to the zeal and activity of Plancius that we may ascribe the direction of Hudson's mind on this occasion, though they differed in opinion upon the subject. But in this, as in all the acts of his life known to us, Hudson evinced that reliance upon his own judgment which crowned his efforts with measurable success.

With this exposition of the causes and motives which led him to the discovery of the Hudson River we leave this resolute seaman. It is no part of our purpose to follow him on the voyage, the details of which will be found well told in the pages of O'Callaghan and Brodhead. We have, however, given Van Meteren's brief

¹⁾ London, 1635.

account in the appendix in illustration of some points in our enquiry. But the events, which happened in our early history, after the voyage of Hudson, admit of elucidation from materials in part only to be found here in Holland; we mean the voyages which succeeded him to New Netherland and the circumstances preceding and attending the settlement of the country under the auspices of the West India Company which for half a century afterwards controlled its destinies; and these will make the subject of a separate chapter, hereafter ¹).

¹) This chapter was never written. Upon the 300th anniversary of Hudson's Third Voyage however, the Linschoten Society, founded in 1908, issued as the first volume of its publications the hitherto unpublished Journal of Jan Cornelisz. May concerning his voyage to the American coast, in 1611—1612, edited by Dr. S. Muller Fz., whose *Geschiedenis van de Noordsche Compagnie*, appeared in 1874.

APPENDIX

A

A WORD FOR THE HALVE MAEN.

Doubts have been thrown around the name of Hudson's vessel. It is a point of inferior importance, it is true, how the little yacht which first sailed up the River of the Mountains was called; yet the name of the ship, as well as the commander, has, in all great enterprises, been considered a legitimate part of the story from the time the Argo conveyed Jason in search of the Golden Fleece until the Niagara and Agamemnon struggled in friendly contest to bind together the Old and the New World. For the sake of literature, at least, we should place the name of our yacht beyond the cavils of any further doubters. Mr. Lambrechtsen ¹⁾ first noticed the fact that the vessel is called the Good Hope in the Register of the Resolutions of the Council of Seventeen; but the authors of "*A treatise on the discoveries of the Dutch, by R. G. Bennet and J. van Wijk* ²⁾," a prize essay of the Provincial Society of Utrecht, tell us that "Hudson was sent out with the ship Half Moon, *otherwise called* the Good Hope ³⁾." It is indeed rather a

¹⁾ p. 7 note.

²⁾ R. G. Bennet en J. van Wijk, *Verhandeling over de Nederlandsche ontdekkingen in Amerika, Australië, de Indiën en de Poollanden*, enz. Utrecht, 1827.

³⁾ p. 48. "Of hij (Hudson) werd met het schip de *Halve Maan*, elders de *Goede Hoop* genoemd, uitgezonden". The translation of the word "elders" by otherwise is wrong. The word means "elsewhere" and the meaning of it is made clear enough by pointing, in a note, to the Notulen of the Chamber of XVII.

remarkable circumstance, that in the only instance in which the vessel is named in the Resolutions of the Council of Seventeen, she is called the Good Hope. This occurs in the minute, before referred to, of the action of that body, in September 1609, in relation to the instructions, at the very time when the vessel was about entering the Hudson river. The proceedings of the Council on that occasion are thus entered: "The deputies from the Chamber of Amsterdam will be pleased to bring with them the orders and instructions which were given to the yacht the *Goede Hope*, sailed to the Weygadts ¹⁾". In the margin is the following: "The deputies of the Chamber of Amsterdam have produced at the assembly of the Seventeen the contents of this point. A copy is given, thereupon, to the respective Chambers, both of the instructions and of the contract made with Mr. Henry Hudson, the pilot ¹⁾." This is, however, clearly an error in regard to the name. There were two yachts belonging to the Chamber of Amsterdam, at that time, called respectively the Half Moon and Good Hope, of forty lasts burthen each. The former sailed to the North under Hudson; the latter to the East Indies, where she was taken by the Spaniards on the 15th of July 1610. The writer of the minutes of the Council evidently confounded the two names, for there are two other records in the archives of the Company where the name is the subject of the entry and where the name of the Halve Maen is given as Hudson's vessel. One of these is a book called the "Sailing book (*Uitloop boekje*) of the ships, from 1603 to 1700 inclusive"; and the

¹⁾ See Document G.

other, the "Memorandum-book" (*Memoriael*)¹⁾. In the former, which is the one referred to by Mr. Brodhead in his history of New York (pp. 24 and 43 *notes*) as the "Shipbook", the following entries occur, under the year 1608, in relation to vessels which had sailed, belonging to the Chamber of Amsterdam²⁾:

	Lasts.	
"Yacht Hope.	40	1608. 15 April. | 1610. 15 July, taken by the Spaniards.
Yacht Halve Maen.	40	Sailed to the | Has returned." North.

Under the date "1611, 2 May under command of Commander Laurens Reael" are the following entries in the same book.

"Banda.	400	. . . . .	1615. March 6. Wrecked on the island Mauritius.
Yacht Halve Maen.	40	. . . . .	Not heard from."

In the "Memorandum-book" corresponding entries occur, as follows.

"Ships sailed in the year 1608.

	Lasts burden.	
Yacht de Hope.	. . . . .	Schipper Pieter Heeres.
Yacht Halve Mane.	40	Schipper Heyndrik Hoitsen."

¹⁾ These two books, with others relating to the crews of the vessels of the East India Company, mostly since the year 1700, are still kept at Amsterdam in the warehouse of the Old West India Company, for purposes connected with claims and inheritances.

They are now all in the Archives at the Hague.

²⁾ See Document I.

"Ships sent under Commander Laurens
Reael, 2d. May 1611, from Amsterdam.

Ship Banda.	400	Schipper Roe- loff Tysen.	1615. 6 March. Lost at Mauritius."
Yacht Halve Mane.	40	Schipper Melis Andries.	(No entry).

The yacht Half Moon was at the island of Sumatra from July 1616 till the end of that year ¹⁾, but her ultimate fate was never reported to the Company and is unknown.

Hudson's vessel it will be observed is every where in the records called a *yacht*. Van Meteren calls her a *Vlieboot*, Flyboat. The discrepancy may be reconciled by the circumstance that these two kinds of vessels resembled each other in the number of their masts, which were two; though in other respects they were materially different. The *Vlieboat* was a broad, flatbottomed vessel intended to navigate the shoals at the *Vlie*. It is now out of use; but is described as having had neither mizzenmast nor topmast. The yacht had no mizzenmast, but had a topmast and bowsprit. The masts were rigged with gaffs half way down, like a sloop, and with staysails. There was no boom to the mainsail, but stays stretched from the end of the gaff to either side of the hull. That the *Halve Maan* was a yacht and not a *Vlieboat* or Flyboat, is evident from Juet's journal ²⁾ where he constantly speaks of her topmast and topsail.

¹⁾ See: *Begin en Voortgang der Oost-Indische Compagnie*. Vol. II. Oost-Indische Voyagie, onder den Admiraal W. Verhoeven p. 129: 1616 Lijste van de Schepen de welken in d'Indien op verscheyden plaetsen waren in de Maent von Lulio 1616 tot dien eynde des selven Iaers.

Naer Iamby.

Barger Booth.

Ende de halve Maene.

²⁾ Reprinted in Asher's *Hudson the Navigator*, pp. 45—93.

B

THE ACCOUNT OF HUDSON'S VOYAGE BY THE DUTCH HISTORIAN, EMANUEL VAN METEREN ¹⁾.

The first account which appeared in print of Hudson's voyage for the East India Company was in 1611, in a supplementary volume of Emanuel Van Meteren's history of the Netherlands. Van Meteren was born at Antwerp in 1535, but was taken at fifteen years of age to London by his father to be brought up in mercantile pursuits. He was a relative of the celebrated geographer Ortelius, with whom he travelled over England and Ireland, and at whose suggestion he undertook the task of writing a history of the Netherlands. He continued to reside at London till his death on the 18th of April 1612, only four months after the completion and publication of his work. He was Consul of the Netherlands at London for the last thirty years of his life. His position, therefore, gave him especial opportunities to write correctly upon a voyage which in some measure was connected both with England and the Netherlands. The first part of his history was published surreptitiously in Latin and German in 1595 in Germany, whither he had sent it for the purpose of having some engravings for it prepared. He first published it himself in Holland, in Dutch, in 1599. Another edition with a continuation appeared in 1608; and the third in 1611, in 4to: which he declares on the title contains his last corrections

¹⁾ See also Bibliography, p. 79—80.

and which, as we have said, was, in fact the last edition during his life time. It has, however, been often reprinted since, and has been translated into French and German and printed in those languages. It is considered a standard authority especially, for his own time.

His account of Hudson's discovery of the great river appeared in his last edition, and within two years after the event. He wrote it in England and evidently with the journal before him of some person who had accompanied the expedition, for he mentions the particular days of the arrival of the vessel at different points, corresponding exactly with those given by Juet in his journal, which was not then yet published. It is not probable that it was one kept by any of the sailors, for some of the information which the author gives would not have been within the knowledge of the crew. Nor was it Hudson's, which, it may be reasonably inferred, was sent by him directly to his employers at the time when he was prohibited by the English government from returning to Holland to make a report of his voyage, inasmuch as we find it afterwards in De Laet's possession: and especially as he had stipulated in the contract to deliver it up to them. The journal, therefore, which Van Meteren used was probably that of the mate, who, as he alone informs us, was a Netherlander, and who, by reason of the official position of the historian in London, would be thrown in communication with him. This supposition is however more strongly founded upon the circumstance that the informant of Van Meteren was acquainted with the private views of Hudson, at various times during the voyage, and afterwards, — a knowledge not likely to have been possessed by any person except an officer

of the vessel; and upon the fact that we are furnished in this account with the opinion of the *mate* in favor of wintering in Newfoundland, instead of proceeding home, and with the particular manner in which *they* proposed to continue the voyage.

Of the relation given by Van Meteren, it will be observed that it is very particular upon those points upon which both the journal of Juet and the account of De Laet are entirely silent, namely, the plans and purposes of Hudson during the voyage. It is well known to our historians and is quoted by them. The original Dutch edition of 1611 of his history, in which the account first appeared, is entitled: "Belgische ofte Nederlandsche Oorlogen ende Geschiedenissen beginnende van 't jaer 1595 tot 1611, mede vervatende enighe gebueren handelinge. Beschreven door Emanuel Van Meteren. Bij hem voor de leste reyse oversien, verbeterd ende vermeerderd na die copie gedruckt op Schotlant buyten Danswyck by Hermes van Loven. Voor den Autheur Anno 1611." 4to., black letter, folios 360, and table of contents. It recommences with the eighteenth book of the history, at the year 1595, where the first volume ended, and concludes with the thirtieth in the year 1610. It does not appear on the title where it was printed; but it is there stated to have been printed according to the copy printed at Scotland, outside Dantzick, — a *nom de guerre*. The place of publication was intentionally concealed. Van Meteren had given offence by his previous volume to some distinguished persons, and he himself in consequence had actually been brought before the States General, upon their complaint of his injustice towards them; and at the same time the copies remaining in the printer's hands were ordered to be seized.

The second volume was, as a contemporaneous history, not likely to be more acceptable to some parties then still living than the former. He wrote, in fact, under a strong Protestant bias. This edition is said to have been printed at Dordrecht. (Mr. S. de Wind's "*Bibliotheek der Nederlandsche Geschiedschrijvers*", p. 258 ¹).

The relation of Hudson's voyage given by this writer has been reprinted in Dutch and translated into the French and English languages. It forms that part of the publications of Joost Hartgers, in 1650, and of Saeghman, in 1663, which describes the voyage of 1609. From this reprint it appears to have been translated into French, and published in the first volume of the "*Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'établissement et aux progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales etc.*," 12mo. Amsterdam 1702. Its publication in English was made in "*A collection of Voyages, undertaken for the improvement of trade and navigation etc.*," 8vo. London 1703 ²). This last mentioned volume is not only uncommon, but the translation appears to have been rendered from the French copy, and is not altogether correct. As one of the proofs in our investigation, we append a new one from the original and only Dutch edition of the author. The account occurs in the thirtieth book, folio 327, of the edition of 1611, and is as follows ³):

"We have said in the preceding book that the Directors of the East India Company in Holland had sent, in the month of March last past, in order to seek

¹) See also Robert Fruin, *De historien van Emanuel van Meteren*, in *Verspreide geschriften*. Vol VII., p. 383 ff.

²) See the Bibliography, p. 80.

³) For the original see Document K.

a passage to China by the North-West or North-East, a brave English pilot named Henry Hudson, with a Vlie-boat, and about eighteen or twenty men, part English and part Dutch, well provided ¹⁾. This Henry Hudson sailed from Texel on the 6th of April 1609, and doubled the Cape of Norway on the 5th of May: he laid his course towards Nova Zembla, along the Northern coast, but found the sea as full of ice there, as he had found it the preceding year, so that he was compelled to abandon all hope for that year; where-upon, owing to the cold which some who had been in the East Indies could not support, the English and Dutch fell into disputes among themselves. Whereupon the Master, Hudson, gave them their choice between two things, the first was, to go to the coast of America in the fortieth degree of latitude, mostly incited to this by letters and maps wick a certain Captain Smith had sent him from Virginia and on which he showed him a sea wherein he might circumnavigate their Southern Colony from the North, and from thence pass into a Western sea. If this had been true, (which experience up to the present time has shown to the contrary), it would have been very advantageous and a short route to sail to the Indies. The other proposition was, to search for the passage by Davis' Straits, to which at last they generally agreed; and on the fourteenth they set sail and, with favorable winds, arrived the last of May at the isle of Faro, where they stopped only twenty-four hours to take in fresh water. Leaving there they reached, on the eighteenth of July, the coast of new France in

¹⁾ There is nothing to be found on the subject in the preceding book or elsewhere in the history.

latitude forty-four, where they were obliged to make a stay to replace their *fore-mast* which they had lost, and where they obtained and rigged one. They found this a good place for catching codfish, and also for carrying on a traffic for good skins and furs which they could obtain for mere trifles; but the sailors behaved very badly towards the people of the country, taking things by force, which was the cause of a strife between them. *The English*, thinking they would be overpowered and worsted, were afraid to enter further into the country; so they sailed from there on the twenty-sixth of July and continued at sea until the third of August, when they approached the land in latitude forty-two. From thence they sailed again until the twelfth of August, when they again approached the land at latitude thirty-seven and three quarters, and kept their course thence along it until they reached the latitude of forty degrees and three quarters, where they found a good entrance between two headlands. Here they entered on the twelfth of September and discovered as beautiful a river as could be found, very large and deep, with good anchorage on both shores. They ascended it with their large vessel as high as latitude forty-two degrees and forty minutes, and went still higher on with the ship's boat. At the entrance of the river they had found the natives brave and warlike; but inside, and up to the highest point of the river, they found them friendly and civil, having an abundance of skins and furs, such as martens and foxes, and many other commodities, birds, fruits and even white and blue grapes. They treated these people very civilly and brought away a little of what ever they found among them. After they had gone about fifty leagues up the river they returned on the

fourth of October and again put to sea. More could have been accomplished there if there had been a good feeling among the sailors and had not the want of provisions prevented them.

At sea there was a consultation held at which there was a diversity of opinion. *The mate, who was a Dutchman, thought* that they ought to go and winter in Newfoundland, and seek for the Northwest passage through Davis' Straits. The master, Hudson, was opposed to this; *he feared his crew would mutiny*, because at times they had boldly menaced him, and also because they would be entirely overcome by the cold of winter and be, after all, obliged to return with many of the crew weak and sickly. No one, however spoke of returning home to Holland, *which gave cause of further suspicion to the master*. Consequently he proposed that they should go and winter in Ireland, to which they all agreed, and at length arrived, November 7th., at Dartmouth in England. From this place they sent an account of their voyage to their masters in Holland, proposing to go in search of a passage to the North West if they were furnished with fifteen hundred guilders in money to buy provisions, in addition to their wages and what they had in the ship. He wished to have some six or seven of his crew changed, making the number up to twenty men etc., and to sail from Dartmouth about the first of March in order to be at the North West by the end of that month and there pass the month of April and half of May in killing whales and other animals in the neighborhood of the isle of Panar; from there to go towards the North West and remain there till the middle of September, and afterwards to return, by the North East of Scotland, again to Holland. Thus

was the voyage finished; but before the Directors could be informed of their arrival in England a long time elapsed by reason of contrary winds, when at last they sent orders for the ship and crew to return at once to Holland. And when this was about to be done, the Master, Henry Hudson, was ordered by the authorities there not to depart, but remain and do service for his own country, which was also required of the other Englishmen in the ship. Many however, thought it very strange that *the Masters*, who had been sent out for the common benefit of all kinds of navigation, should not be permitted to return in order to render an account and make a report of their doings and affairs to their employers. This took place in January 1610. It was supposed that the English wished to send the same persons with some vessels to Virginia to explore further the before mentioned river."

C

THE HUDSON TRACT OF 1612.¹⁾

This tract first appeared in Dutch with the title of: "*Beschryvinghe van der Samoyeden landt in Tartarien. Nieulijcks onder 't ghebiedt der Moscoviten gebracht. Wt de Russische tale overgheset, Anno 1609. Met een verhael van de opsoeckingh ende ontdeckinge van de nieuwe deurgang ofte straet int Noordwesten na de Rycken van China ende Cathay. Ende een Memoriael, gepresenteert aan den Coningh van Spaengien, belanghende de ontdeckinge ende ghelegentheyt van 't Land ghenamed Australia Incognita. t' Amsterdam by Hessel Gerritsz. Boeckvercooper, opt Water, inde Pascaert, Anno 1612*"²⁾. It is a small 4to. of forty pages, containing three maps, one of the world, representing the different discoveries mentioned in the book; one, a nautical chart of Hudson's straits and the adjoining shores of Davis' Straits, and the third a chart of the Northeastern coasts of Russia and country of the Samoieds, as delineated and described by Isaac Massa. Upon each of the last named two maps there are printed two pages

¹⁾ Though the bibliography of the various editions at the end of this volume renders the re-printing of this part almost superfluous I have deemed it best to do so on account of some suggestions of Murphy's respecting its authorship.

²⁾ "Description of the country of the Samoieds in Tartary, lately brought under the dominion of the Muscovites. Translated from the Russian in the year 1609. Together with an account of the search and discovery of the new passage or strait, in the Northwest, to the kingdoms of China and Cathay. Also a memorial presented to the King of Spain, concerning the discovery and situation of the country called Australia Incognita. Amsterdam. Hessel Gerritsz. Bookseller etc."

of description; and upon that of Hudson's straits is the account which we have referred to in the text. The contents of the book consist, in addition to what appears upon these maps, of a preface of six pages, giving a brief history of Northern discovery, signed Hessel Gerritsz. of Assum; accounts of Siberia and Muscovy, twenty-two pages; and the memorial of De Quir to the King of Spain relative to the great Southern continent, nine pages. The entire relation of Hudson's discoveries, as given on the map, is brief and reads as follows ¹⁾:

"Account of the voyage and new-found strait of Mr. Hudson.

"Mr. Hudson, who has several times sought a passage Westward, had the idea of seeking an outlet sea through Lumley's Inlet in Davis' Straits, as we have seen in his maps in Mr. Plancius' possession, and to run into the South Sea, West of New England, where an Englishman, as he had marked out, had passed through. After much trouble he found the way which is designated upon this chart, which he would have followed out, had the common sailors not been unwilling; for as he had already been absent ten months, and victualed for only eight months, and had during the whole time seen only one man (who brought them a large animal which they ate, but who because he was ill-used did not come near them again) the common sailors, therefore, when they had come up again from latitude fiftytwo, where they had wintered, to latitude sixty-three along the West side of the Bay into which they had sailed, and where they perceived an open sea and great waves from the Northwest, mutinied against their masters who wished to go

¹⁾ See Document M.

further, put all the officers out of the ship into a boat or sloop, and sailed themselves with the ship to England. For this, when they came home, they were all thrown into prison; and this summer some ships have been sent out by order of the King and the Prince of Wales to search further for the passage, and for Mr. Hudson and his companions; which ships have orders, two of them, to pass through the passage when it shall be found, and one of them to return home with the news, which we are expecting”.

In addition to this account of Hudson's discoveries on the back of the chart ¹⁾ there is about half a page of the preface devoted to them ²⁾, in which it is distinctly averred that the Directors of the East India Company were induced to send out the expedition under Hudson in consequence of the recent attempts of the English to discover a route by the North. This must refer to Hudson's first two voyages for the English Company. The disjointed parts relating to Hudson in this tract, in connection with the fact that his name does not appear upon the title page, indicate that the map and memorandum accompanying it were contributed after the rest of the work was prepared for the press. The same observation is applicable to the map of Russia, which has a similar memorandum endorsed in regard to the travels of Isaac Massa. Both these endorsements are omitted

¹⁾ “We beg to remind the reader that the Hessel-Gerritsz. notes on the back of Massa's map contain by no means unimportant matter and that those on Hudson's map supply us with almost the only source whence Murphy reconstructed Hudson's plan of his third voyage in a most ingenious manner — a reconstruction which places the fame of the renowned traveller on a firmer basis than ever before. S. Muller Fzn., *Introduction to the facsimile reprint of the Detectio Freti*. 1878. p. XIX.

²⁾ See Document L.

from the maps in the other editions; but the contents of them are enlarged and made regularly a part of the text of the work. The chart of Hudson's Bay was evidently drawn in England ¹⁾, as the names are in the English language and it is embellished with the royal arms.

The second edition of this tract was published at Amsterdam in Latin, in the same year as the Dutch edition and is entitled: "*Descriptio ac delineatio Geographica Detectionis Freti sive, Transitus ad Occasum, supra terras Americanas, in Chinam atq; Japonem ducturi, recens investigati ab M. Henrico Hudsono Anglo. Item, Narratio Ser.^{mo} Regi Hispaniae facta, super tractu, in quinta Orbis terrarum parte, cui Australiae Incognitae nomen est, recens detecto, per Capitaneum Petrum Fernandez de Quir. Unà cum descriptione terrae Samoiedarum et Tingoësiorum, in Tartaria ad Ortum Freti Waygats sitae, nuperq; Imperio Moscovitarum subactae.* AMSTERODAMI Ex Officina Hesselij Gerardi. Anno 1612". Small 4to; forty-six pages, 3 maps, the same as in the Dutch edition. There is also a plate of a Samoied on a sledge, drawn by reindeer, with idols on an eminence in the distance. On the back of the title is a ship under full sail and some verses underneath.

The title, it will be seen, is changed and now commences by stating the work to be an account of Hudson's discoveries, which makes the first article in the book. Hence it is called the Hudson tract, although what

¹⁾ Asher, p. XLV. — "Ainsi que M. Asher l'a justement observé, il n'y a pas de doute que la carte des voyages de Hudson, qui fut dressée par le célèbre voyageur et probablement envoyée d'Angleterre au savant mathématicien Petrus Plancius, n'ait été gravée par Hessel Gerritsz. Sa profession de cartographe, le style de la gravure, et les noms hollandais qu'on trouve dans la carte le prouvent suffisamment". Tiele, *Mémoire*, p. 186.

relates to Hudson forms only a small portion of its contents. This edition of the Hudson article was used in the reprint in De Bry (*Petits Voyages*, Part X. 1613), in the *Annalium Mercurio* etc. (Cologne, 1616) and in the German translation of Hulsius (Part XII. 1614). It is marred by several errors but is of value as a phase in the process of correction so far as regards Hudson's voyages. The portion of it relating to the voyage for the East India Company we give at length, in illustration of such correction and the amplification which it underwent from the first edition in Dutch to that of 1613, printed in our text ¹⁾: „It (the Northwest passage) was attempted in 1602 by Captain George *Winwood*, who having sailed up and down Davis' Straits for nearly fifty leagues, and having been compelled to return on account of the ice, endeavored to find the desired passage through the bay which the English call Lumles Inlet, in latitude sixty-one; but after having proceeded an hundred leagues towards Hypafricum, he retraced his course, both because the crew were worn out by the daily toil of the voyage and because he determined to explore two other bays between Lumles Inlet and the Baccalaos, where he had seen a large river emptying itself, as is evident from his journal: which Mr. Peter Plancius, a most curious investigator of such novelties, *delivered* to Mr. Henry Hudson, an Englishman, who was then in Amsterdam, to wit in the year 1609, and about to sail on a voyage, having been engaged by the Directors of the East India Company to search for a passage above Nova Zembla. When he found he could accomplish nothing in the East, he turned his course *straight*

¹⁾ See p. 48—51.

to the West, in order to try the passage sought by Captain Winwood and described by him as terminating after passing through a strait of an hundred leagues, more or less, in a large sea, which sea our Hudson hoped to find, though Plancius showed the contrary, on the strength of a narrative of a person who had navigated the Western shore of the sea. Hudson not having accomplished anything worthy of note in this voyage was sent out again the following year, 1610, by his own countrymen, and following the route tracked out for him in part by George Winwood, entered at length after much trouble this strait and proceeded to latitude 50 and 51, where he wintered etc. ¹⁾ It will be noted that Weymouth is here called Winwood; that Hudson's course is declared to have been a straight one, and that only one voyage of Weymouth is mentioned. All these points were changed in the edition of 1613. But the omissions are still more remarkable, and by referring to the translation from that edition in the text it will be seen what they are, namely: 1. that Weymouth made a *second* voyage (1605); 2. that Hudson *begged* from Plancius the journals of Weymouth; 3. that he went upon the coast of New France not to explore but for the purpose of making a profit for the Company, by the exchange of merchandize for furs; and 4. that he left on his last voyage *no less determined* to explore the Western route *than before*, which, as we have said, is an indication of his design when he sailed on the voyage of 1609 to explore the American coast.

The third and last edition published by Gerritsz. was also in Latin and bears date 1613. The title is again

¹⁾ See Document O.

slightly altered, in language, from the preceding edition, but not in substance, as follows: "*Descriptio ac delineata Geographica Detectionis Freti sive, Transitus at Occasum. supra terras Americanas, in Chinam atq: Japonem ducturi recens investigati ab M. Henrico Hudsono Anglo. Item, Exegesis Regi Hispaniae facta super tractu recens detecto in quinta orbis parte, cui nomen Australis Incognita. Cum descriptione terrarum Samoiedarum & Tingoësiorum in Tartaria, ad ortum freti Waygarts sitarum, nuperq; sceptro Moscovitarum adscitarum.* AMSTERODAMI ex officina Hesselij Gerardi. Anno 1613"; Small 4to, forty-four pages. Besides the maps and plates in the first Latin edition and some additional names on the plate of the map of Tartary, there is a fourth map, of the Arctic regions, and a supplemental leaf with a plate of a whale. An important circumstance relating to this impression is that it is entirely re-written. The article upon the discoveries of Hudson is corrected in the particulars which we have mentioned and is also much enlarged. The account of the Samoieds is an original one of Isaac Massa of Haerlem by whom it is signed. Massa had been in Russia and wrote a full account of that country, still existing in manuscript in the Royal Library at the Hague ¹⁾, and professing to give the history of that country down to the year 1608. We have already referred to him in our notice of Le Maire. He was afterwards repeatedly sent to Moscow as a diplomatic agent of the

¹⁾ This manuscript has since been edited under the title: *Histoire des guerres de la Moscovie* (1601—1610) par Isaac Massa de Haarlem. Publié pour la première fois, d'après le ms. hollandais original de 1616, avec d'autres opuscules sur la Russie, et des annotations par M. le prince Michel Obolensky et M. le Dr. A. van der Linde. Bruxelles, 1866. 2 vols.

States General. Hamel ¹⁾, (p. 355), says that he "contributed essentially to the extension of the trade of the Dutch with Russia". This edition closes with an additional article not found in the other editions, of six pages, devoted to the voyage of Jan Cornelisz. (May) in 1611.

Hessel Gerritsz., the publisher of these three editions, came, as he describes himself, from Assum, which is a little hamlet in North Holland. He was, like Hondius, a map engraver.

By comparing the different editions of this little book, the account, as regards the purposes of Hudson, must have been, ultimately, the work of some person cognizant of the facts related. As it was published in the very city in which the transaction occurred, in relation to which we produce it, and within three or four years of the event, the conclusion appears irresistible that corrections would not have been made of a statement merely introductory, as this is, to the main object of the narrative, unless the facts were within the knowledge of the party, *and deemed important by him*; and these circumstances point almost conclusively to Plancius himself as the informant; but whatever doubt there might otherwise be upon this subject, it is all removed when these amendments are taken in connection with the statement of Gerritsz. in the Dutch edition, that he had seen in the possession of Plancius a map with Hudson's plan of exploration, marked out by himself, thus showing a direct communication between the author and the cosmographer, and the source of the author's information upon the subject of the voyage made for the East India Company.

¹⁾ Tradescant der Aeltere, 1618, in Russland. 1847.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE VARIOUS
PRINTED DUTCH RECORDS CONCERNING HUDSON

A. VAN METEREN'S HISTORY OF THE DUTCH WARS.

The first printed record of Hudson's third voyage, was published in 1611, and is to be found in the second volume of Van Meteren's History, of which the title runs:

Belgische Ofte Nederlantsche Oorlogen ende Gheschiedenissen, Beginnende van 't Iaer 1595 tot 1611. mede vervatende enighe haerder gebueren handelinghe. Beschreven door Emanuel van Meteren. Bij hem voor de leste reijse oversiē verbeteret ēde vermeerdert na die Copie Gedruckt op Schotlant buyten Danswyck, by Hermes van Loven. voor den Autheur Anno 1611. 4to.

This volume has 2 preliminary leaves, 360 numb. leaves (books 18—30), an Index of 8 leaves, all in 2 col. black letter. 4to.

The passage relating to Hudson on Fol. 327 *recto* (2)—328 *recto* (1).

Asher, pp. xxiv—xxix, who did not know this edition, sustains that the passage relating to Hudson was not printed before 1614, and that therefore Van Meteren, who died in 1612, did not himself see it in print.

He reprinted it, with an English translation, after the edition of 1614, on pp. 147—153. For the original text see Document K, for Murphy's translation pp. 64—68.

It has been reprinted in the following collections of Voyages:

Begin en Voortgang. (1645). Vol. I. pp. 54—55.

Oost-Indische Voyagien, door dien Begin en Voortgangh. Amst., J. Hartgers, 1648. pp. 40, 41.

Verscheide Oost-Indische Voyagien, Amst., G. J. Saeghman, (1663).

Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'établissement et aux progrès de la Compagnie des I. O. (par R. A. Constantin de Renneville). Amst., Aux dépens d'Estienne Roger, 1702. Vol. I. pp. 146—150.

A Collection of Voyages undertaken for the improvement of trade and navigation. London, 1703. pp. 68—70.

B. HESSEL GERRITSZ. COLLECTION.

A facsimile-reprint of the collection was published in 1878. Dr. S. Muller Fz., in his valuable introduction to the work, gave such a clear and comprehensive account of the contents and the alterations made in the successive editions, that we have thought best to reproduce here those passages which more particularly refer to the part dealing with Hudson's voyage.

"The little book we now beg to present to the public in its original form, is not only one of the rarest, but one of the most remarkable productions of the very fertile Netherland press in the beginning of the 17th century. However small and unassuming in appearance, it was not only the first publication issued concerning Hudson's most famous voyage, but contains also every thing we know of the plans of that great mariner. Mr. Murphy's clever essay indeed already directed the attention of the public to this side of the book. In it, and in Dr. Asher's learned disquisition concerning Hudson, the reader will find a detailed account respecting the great importance of what is here related from very good sources about Hudson's voyage, and of the maps which accompany this description. Only this would be sufficient to justify a reprint of this little book, of which only three or four copies are known to exist. And more than this. Besides the accounts of Hudson's voyage, we here find a very extensive description of the oldest commercial connexions of Russia with the then so very mysterious Siberia; we also meet with a relation of the conquest of that country, which followed shortly after, an event which is so very imperfectly

known, and finally a vast treasure of most interesting particulars in a geographical point of view respecting the north of Russia and Siberia, the coast of the Ice-sea, the trading-roads in use towards the close of the 16th century, and the customs and manners of the tribes residing there. And all this we have from the hand of an eye-witness, who was a man of a cultivated taste and had come to Russia with the definite object in view of obtaining a knowledge of the country and its traffic, — who did not even hesitate to expose his life to wrest this map from the hands of the mysterious Russians. Finally this varied collection contains a remarkable, though little noticed account, from the hand of the traveller himself, concerning an expedition for the discovery of the unknown south country undertaken by the famous Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, of whom Mr. Major recently testified, that: „he left behind him a name which for merit though not for success was second only to that of Columbus.”

And how the favourable opinion we have of this remarkable collection increases when we learn that the publisher was no other than the cartographer Hessel Gerritsz., a name which perfectly warrants the reliability of the accounts given. Hessel Gerritsz., born in the Dutch village of Assum, belongs to the race of learned cartographers and printers of whom the Netherland Republic was so justly proud. Well acquainted with such men as Plancius and Massa, Gerritsz. was, like his contemporaries Hondius and Blaeu, exactly the person fit to pronounce his verdict in the learned questions which are discussed in the little book he published. The fruits of his labour, among which stands foremost the little work here reprinted, testifies to his skill. We find of him moreover maps of Russia, Lithuania and other lands in the large atlas of Blaeu, — of America in the well-known work of De Laet, — of Spitsbergen and Novaya Zemlya in his own “*Histoire du pays nommé Spitsbergen.*” There exist also maps drawn by him of Batavia,

of the Indian Archipelago and even of New-Guinea. His varied knowledge already attracted the attention of the East India Company, who appointed him in 1617 their cartographer, a position which he occupied till his death, which took place in the first days of 1634. It was of course to be expected that a man of such a stamp, as soon as he published a work of this character, on a ground where he felt himself quite at home, would produce something not only perfectly answering to the exigencies of the moment, but which might be likewise of great value in our own time to historical researches. And this is most especially the case with his first known publication entitled: "Description of the land of the Samoyeds."

"That the cartographer Hessel Gerritsz. was the right man immediately to see the importance of these two compositions ¹⁾ needs no demonstration. He had no sooner become acquainted with their existence, when he immediately set to work, augmented what Massa had collected with a few additional notes and had this printed. He then added a map of the discoveries of Hudson in the north-west, which he had composed after an English original copy. He augmented the same with a short relation of the expeditions of the traveller, which he borrowed from the accounts of Plancius. Finally, a short account of the able voyager, Pedro Fernandez De Quiros, was added, in which the latter largely commented on the wonders of a country discovered by him, which was generally believed to be the long sought-for, but as yet unknown southern continent, and which seemed to be easily accessible along the road discovered by Hudson, even since the way through the strait of Magellan was closed to competitors of the East-India Company. Hessel Gerritsz. himself wrote a short introduction, in which he gave a

¹⁾ Viz. Massa's two accounts of Siberia and Russia.

short survey of the origin of the relations of the Netherlanders with Russia, and the far off north-easterly countries, and of the expeditions adready made for the discovery of the northern passage.

So the little book, which thus made its appearance at the commencement of 1612, consists of several parts which, at first sight, seem to bear but little relation to each other, but, on a closer inspection, severally appear to have only one object in view: that of recommending the finding out of a northern passage, and more particularly one in the direction approved of by Hessel Gerritsz. We find in this collection:

1. Introduction by Hessel Gerritsz. (6 pages).
2. Massa's Description of Siberia (8 pages).
3. Massa's Short account of the roads and rivers from Muscovy (14 pages).
4. Statement of a certain Memorial presented to his Majesty by the Captain Pedro Fernandez De Quiros (9 pages).
5. A map of the world by Hessel Gerritsz. in which the discoveries of Hudson and De Quiros are pointed out.
6. A map of Hudson's discoveries by Hessel Gerritsz.; on the reverse of which a short account of Hudson's fourth voyage in 1610, by Gerritsz.
7. The map of Russia's northern coast by Isaac Massa, amplified on the reverse with notes by Hessel Gerritsz.

We beg to add a word or two on each of these works in particular.

The introduction sketches in broad outlines how Europe first became acquainted with Russia by Herbersteyn's work, — how the trade of the Netherlanders with Russia was established since, by Olivier Brunel; and how that establishment gradually enticed them further, and induced them, again in the footsteps of Brunel, to engage in enterprises to East-India, which have rendered Linschoten's and Barentsz.' memory immortal. The inference drawn from these several facts is that the finding of a passage in this direction is improbable, and with vehemence

Gerritsz. then attacks the plans which gave rise to the voyage of Jan Cornelisz. May, in 1611 and 1612, and of which the result was still unknown ¹⁾. The attention is finally directed to

¹⁾ It must however be acknowledged that Gerritsz., in his annotations on the back of Massa's map, owned he had been rather too sharp in his judgment; and that after the return of the travellers, — in the edition of 1613, — he gave a detailed account of the expedition which clearly shows his appreciation of their endeavours. Gerritsz. retracts his insolence to May in a rather remarkable way. He wrote in the preface of his "Description of the land of the Samoyedes": "returning to his winter-quarters the author of the voyage or supercargo, by divine providence, (as it appears) received the reward of his folly" ¹⁾. Already on the back of Massa's map he hastened to state: "I must note down that I spoke rather too decidedly in the preface of the accident happened in Nova Franeia to the supercargo of Amersfoort, for a matter sometimes proves to be very different from what it appears at first sight, and as the causes why things happen are nearly always unknown to us they cannot be spoken of positively at all" ²⁾. But his conscience and perhaps the reproof of May's friends terrified Gerritsz. so much that he resolved to paste in the copies of the book still in his possession a slip of paper covering the unhappy words, and making the sentence run thus: "They retreated to their winter-quarters, where they searched nearly the whole coast to the Norenberga, where one of their supercargoes and six of his companions were killed with arrows" ³⁾. This last version is re-produced in this edition ⁴⁾, and renders the above-mentioned words, on the back of Massa's map, unintelligible.

¹⁾ *F. 3 verso, line 28*: om win-//ter lage te leggen; daer harē Auteur of opper Commijs door // de Opperste schickinge (so t' schijnt) t' loon vā zijn dwaesheyt // ontfangen heeft. Van dit gezelschap *etc.* (Copy in the R. Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam and the Royal Library, the Hague).

²⁾ Dit moet iek noch noteren/ dat iek van 't ongheluck van // d'Amersfoorder Commijs aē nova Franeia al veel te stijf in // de Voor-reden ghesproken heb/ want een saeck is dickwils // heel anders dan 't hem ten eersten laet aensien/ ende om dat // ons d'oorsaeken daerom eenich dingh toecomt/ meest altijdt // onbekent zijn/ soo canmen sulcke dinghen geen-sins vast seg-//ghen.

³⁾ om win-//ter lage te leggen; daer sy meest al de custen besoecht hebben tot aē // de Norenberga, daer een van haer Comissen met 6. andere met pijlen // doorshoten is. Van dit geselschap *etc.*

⁴⁾ The facsimile reprint of 1878.

the route, which Hudson had first chosen with great success; many reasons are enumerated to show the probability of the discovery of that new route; and among the advantages resulting from it, Gerritsz. points out, especially, the opportunity of visiting the almost unknown southern continent."

"After this introduction, which bears right on to the object Gerritsz. had in view, follow the two pieces of Massa."

"After Massa's writings follows in the work of Hessel Gerritsz. a petition of Pedro Fernandez De Quiros, presented to Philip III."

First edition. Dutch. 1612.

Beschryvinghe // Vander // Samoyeden Landt // in Tartarien. // Nieulijcks onder 't ghebiedt der Moscoviten gebracht. // Wt de Russche tale overgheset, Anno 1609. // Met cen verhael // Vande opsoeckingh ende ontdeckin-//ge vande nieuwe deurgang ofte straet int Noord-//westen na de Rijcken van China ende Cathay. // Ende // Een Memoriael gepresenteert aenden // Coningh van Spaengien/ belanghende de ont-//deckinghe ende gheleghentheyte van 't Land ghe-//naemt Australia Incognita. // (*Ornament*) // t'Amsterdam/ by Hessel Gerritsz. Boeckvercooper/ opt // Water/ inde Pascaert/ Anno 1612.

20 leaves, Black letter, 38 lines, with sign. (A1) A3, A3—E3(—4); with catchwords. With 3 folding maps.

Text: *F. 1 recto* (titlepage, black letter and Latin). *F. 1 verso* (Text taken from *Proverbs 16 Cap.*) *F. 2 recto*: Tot den Leser. // D(*xyl.*)E apparentien ofte schijnselen van // baet ende voordeel etc. *F. 4 verso*, underneath: Vwe aldervlytichste Dienaer // Hessel Gerritsz van Assum. // Liefhebber

der Geographie. // *F. 5 recto*: Copie // Vande beschryvinge der // Landen Siberia, Samoieda ende Tingoesa, // met oock de wegghen uyt Moscovia derwaert Oost // ende Oost ten Noorden aen/ soo het daghelijcks // bereyst wordt vande Moscoviten. // *F. 8 verso, line 21*: Want sy en moghen // niet lyden dat de secreten van haer Land ontdeckt worden. // Een // *F. 9 recto*: Een cort verhael van de // Wegen ende Rivieren uyt Moscovia // Oostwaerts en Oost ten Noorden aen te Landewaert // etc. *F. 15 verso, line 11*: Finis. // (*Tailpiece*) // *F. 16 recto*: Verhael // Van seker Memoriael // ghepresenteert aan zyne Majesteyt // by den Capiteyn Pedro Fernandez de Quir; aen-//gaende de bevolckinge ende ontdeckinge van 't vierde // deel des Werelts/ ghe-naemt Australia incognita, // etc. *F. 20 recto, line 14*: Finis. // (*The same tailpiece as on F. 15 verso*). *F. 20 verso* (*White*).

Maps: 1. *Map of the world by Hessel Gerritsz. on which the discoveries of Hudson and de Quir's are indicated.*

2. *Large map of Hudson's discoveries, by Hessel Gerritsz.*: Tabvla navtica, qua repræsentantur oræ maritimæ, meatus, ac freta, noviter a HHudsono Anglo ad Caurum supra Novam Franciam indagata Anno 1612. (*Tiele gives the year 1611.*) *On the reverse a short account of Hudson's fourth voyage of 1610 (Black letter)*: (*Headpiece*) // Verhael vande Reyse // ende de Nieuw'-ghevonden Strate // van Mr. Hudson. // (*Tailpiece*).

3. *Large map of Russia's northern coast by Is. Massa*: Caerte van 't Noorderste Russen, Samojeden, ende Tingoosen landt: alsoo dat vande Russen afghetekent, en door Isaac Massa vertaelt is. *On the reverse 2 pages text by Hessel Gerritsz. (Black letter)*: Aenmerckingen op dese // Russche Caerte ende oock op de tus-//schen-reden die Isaac Massa by de beschry-//vinghe ghevoecht heeft. //

Concerning Hudson: Preface pp. 4—6. (Document L.). Annotations on the back of Hudson's map Document M.).

For alteration in the preface, see p. 85 Note. The Annotation on the back of the map (text and translation) in Asher, pp. 181—183, (the same translation in Read, p. 186.) Translation only, in Murphy, pp. 67—68 (p. 70—71 here).

Asher, p. XLIV; Tiele, *Mémoire*, n^o. 149; Idem, *Bibliographie*, n^o. 372. Facsimile-reprint, with English translation, by Frederik Muller, 1878.

Copies: Royal Library, the Hague (Hudson map missing); R. Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam.

“As a skilful editor Hessel Gerritsz. knew directly how to adjust his tackle to the wind. Without omitting any of Massa’s most important pieces, he simply altered the title of his work, and the order of succession of the several pieces inserted in it, and thus again directed the attention to those several parts of his collection which had suited the taste of the public most. Already in a second issue of the Dutch book he amplified his notes of Hudson’s voyage and placed them, as a separate relation, at the commencement of the work, which, this time, retained the same title.”

Second Dutch edition. 1612.

Practically the same edition as the former. After Hessel Gerritsz’ preface has been added:

F. 5 recto (sign. A2): Verhael // Van d’ontdeckinghe van de nieughesochte // Strate in ’t Noordwesten, om te seylen boven langhs de // Landen van America, nae China ende Iapon; ghedaen // door Mr. Hendrick Hudson Enghels-man. *F. 6 recto, line 33:* Finis. *F. 6 verso (White).* Remainder as in the other edition, with the same maps.

Concerning Hudson: Preface pp. 4—6 and pp. 9—11.

This text published for the first time, Document P¹); translation of the Latin edition of 1613, “with notes indicating the variations of the Dutch edition,” Asher, pp. 189—194.

¹) I am indebted to Mr. M. M. Kleerkooper, for both the description of this edition and the transcription of the text.

Asher, pp. XLV and 270; Tiele, *Mémoire*, n^o. 150¹); Idem, *Bibliographic*, n^o. 372, Note.

Copy: British Museum (10055. b. 34), London.

"In the following edition²), which appeared in the same year, — this time in Latin, so that the work might be better accessible to readers in foreign countries — the title was altogether changed. Hudson's voyage was now made a prominent feature and the work called":

Latin edition. 1612.

Descriptio ac delineatio Geographica // Detectio-//nis Freti, // sive, Transitvs ad Occasum, // suprâ terras Americanas, in Chinam // atq; Iaponem ducturi, // Recens investigati ab M. Henrico Hudsono Anglo. // Item, // Narratio Ser.^{mo} Regi Hispaniæ facta, // super tractu, in quinta Orbis terrarum parte, cui // Avstraliæ incognitæ // nomen est, recens detecto, // Per Capitaneum Petrum Fernandez de Quir. // Vnâ cum descriptione // Terræ Samoiedarvm & Tingoesiorm, // in Tartaria ad Ortum Freti VVaygats sitæ, nuperq; Imperio // Moscovitarvm

¹) "Nous n'avons pas vu cette édition, mentionnée par M. G. M. Asher dans son important ouvrage sur Hudson (p. 270), où l'on apprend en même temps (p. 181—194) en quoi cette notice diffère de celle qu'on trouve au verso de la carte de Hudson dans l'édition précédente." This statement is not correct. In his "notes indicating the variations of the Dutch edition" Asher indicates the differences between the Dutch edition of 1612 and the Latin one of 1613, not those existing between the two Dutch editions.

²) Since the text of the former Dutch edition has become known to me by the transcription now for the first time printed, I am fully convinced that the first Latin edition preceded the second Dutch one, which may be proved by the fact that the name Winwood in the Latin edition has been corrected into Weymouth.

subactæ. // (*Ornament*) // Amsterodami // — // Ex officina
Hesselij Gerardi. Anno 1612. //

24 leaves Latin, 33 lines, with sign. A2—(A6), B—E(—4) F(—2);
with catchwords. 4to.

Text: *F. 1 recto (title) F. 1 verso (Woodcut, a sailing yacht) //*
Huc quicunq; novas ardes cognoscere terras, // Huc ades,
etc. (8 lines italic) F. 2 recto: In tractatus sequentes
Prolego-//mena ad Lectorem. // L(*xyl.*)Vcri & utilitatis
spes animos hominum num-//quam non excitavit *etc.*
F. 4 verso, underneath: Hesselius Gerardus Assumensis //
Philogeographus. // *F. 5 recto:* Relatio // Super detectione
novi ad Cau-//rum transitus, suprâ terras Americanas, in //
Chinam atq; Iaponem ducturi. // Ab H. Hudsono Anglo
recens inventi. // F(*xyl.*)Elicissimæ Anglicæ gentisex pe-
ditiones (*sic*) mariti-//mæ, & prosperrimi *etc.* *F. 6 recto,*
line 4: quod in horas nunc expectatur. // (*Tailpiece*). // *F. 6*
verso (White). *F. 7 recto:* Relatio // Memorialis, sive libelli
supplicis Majestati Sua // oblatus per Capitaneum Petrum
Ferdinandez de Quir, // Super // Detectione quartæ *etc.* *F. 12*
verso (Woodcut, a Samoyed drawn by three reindeer) //
Samoiedarum, trahis a rangiferis protractis insidentium; //
Nec non Idolorum ab iisdem cultorum effigies. // *F. 13*
recto: Apographum // Descriptionis regionum Sibe-//riæ,
Samojediæ *etc.* *F. 17 recto:* Itinervm atq; Flvviorvm //
Ortum & Aquilonem versus è Moscovia in // Siberiam,
Samojediâ, *etc.* *F. 23 recto, line 18:* Finis // (*Tailpiece*).
F. 23 verso (White). *F. 24 (White).*

Maps: The same maps as in the former edition; but without
the text on the reverse.

Concerning Hudson: Prolegomena p. 7 (Document N); text pp. 9—11
(Document O). Title and prolegomena reprinted in Asher, pp. 236—241 ¹⁾;
Part of the prolegomena (with translation) ib. pp. 183—185; text (with

¹⁾ *Errata:* Introductory verses: l. 2 Huc adeas *orig.* ades.

l. 6 Et maiori dedit sapi, *orig.* sæpè.

translation) ib. p. 185—189. (The translations of the latter two reprinted in Read's *Historical inquiry concerning Henry Hudson*, (1866). p. 187—191.

Asher, XLIV and 268; Tiele, *Mémoire*, n°. 151; Idem, *Bibliographie*, n°. 373; Muller, *Essai d'une bibliographie néerl.-russe*, p. 103.

Copies: Royal Library, Berlin: Stadtbibliothek, Hamburg; K.K. Hofbibliothek, Vienna; Imperial Public Library, St. Petersburg (2 copies); British Museum (2 copies¹); Lenox Library, New York; John Carter Brown, Providence; Library of Congress, Washington.

“Those too, who were desirous of becoming acquainted with the adventures and wonders which the south produced, were served by Gerritsz. to their taste; the wish to discover a northern passage became the stronger on reading a title, which particularly directed the attention to the discovery of De Quiros.”

The same edition. Latin, 1612.

Exemplar // Libelli supplicis, Potentissimo // Hispaniarum Regi exhibiti, à Capitaneo // Petro Fernandez de Quir: // Super // Detectione quintæ Orbis terrarum partis, cui // Avtraliæ (*sic*) incognitæ // nomen est. // Item, // Relatio super Freto per M. Hudsonum Anglum // quæsito, ac in parte detecto suprâ Provincias Terræ // Novæ, novæque Hispaniæ, Chinam & Cathaiam // versus ducturo: // vna // Cum Freti ipsius, quatenus iam detectum est, // Tabula navtica. // Nec non // Isaaci Massæ Harlemensis // Samoiedîæ atque Tingoëssæ, regionum ac Orientem ultra // Fretum Weygats in Tartaria sitarum, nuperque Imperio // Molcovitico (*sic*) adquisitarum descriptio, // et // Tractus eiusdem Tabula Russica. // Latine

¹) Massa's map in one of the copies is augmented with the figures of two Samoyeds, with the inscription, but in no other respect does it differ from the maps in the former edition.

versa ab R. Vitellio. // Amsterodami // Ex officina Hesselij Gerardi. Anno 1612. //

This is really the same edition as the former, but with a different titlepage and in different order. On the verso of the titlepage the ship and verses as before.

Order of this copy:

In tractatus sequentes Prolegomena ad Lectorem.

Relatio Memorialis, sive libelli supplicis Majestati Fernandez de Quir, *etc.*

Apographum Descriptionis regionum Siberiæ, Samoiediæ, atque Tingoësiæ, *etc.*

Itinervm atq; fluviorvm . . . brevis descriptio Detectioni Freti, *etc.*

Descriptio ac delineatio Geographica, *etc.*

Relatio super detectione novi ad Caurum transitus.

With the same maps, the Massa map in its first state.

Asher, XLIV and 267; Tiele, Mémoire, n°. 152; Idem, Bibliographie, n°. 373.

Copy: British Museum, London.

"And when the interest thus felt, became so great, that within a year, another edition was wanted, the additions the editor had occasionally made in the text, were again entirely revised and remodelled. The most important events, which had taken place in Netherland in the course of the year, with respect to northern navigation, were inserted; and the whole published towards the close of the year."

Second Latin edition, 1613.

Descriptio ac delineatio Geographica // Detectio-//nis Freti-// Sive, Transitus ad Occasum suprâ // terras Americanas, in Chinam // atq; Iaponem ducturi. // Recens investigati ab M. Henrico Hudsono Anglo. // Item, // Exegesis Regi Hispaniæ facta, super // tractu recens detecto, in quintâ Orbis parte, cui nomen, // Australis incognita. // Cum descriptione // Terrarum Samoiedarum,

& Tingoësiorum, in // Tartariâ ad Ortum Freti VVaygatsitarum, nuperq; // sceptro Moscovitarum adscitarum. // (*Ornament*) // Amsterodami // ——— // Ex Officina Hesselij Gerardi. Anno 1613. //

24 leaves. Latin, 33 lines, with sign. A2—F2(—4); with catchwords. 4to.

Text: *F. 1 recto (title)*. *F. 1 verso (Woodcut, as in the former edition)* // Liber ad Lectorem. // Qui cupis ignotas Lector cognoscere terras, // Corpore quas *etc.* (10 lines). *F. 2 recto*: Ad Lectorem Prolegomena, // in tractatus sequentes. // V(*xyl.*)T antehac novæ terrarum detectiones, labo-// riosissimæque navigationes, *etc.* *F. 3 recto*: Descriptio, ac delineatio Geographica // Detectionis Freti. // Sive transiuts, (*sic*) supra terras Americanas // in Chinam, & Iaponem. // F(*xyl.*)Elicissimæ Anglorum navigationes, & pro-// sperrimi earum successus, *etc.* *F. 4 recto, line 23*: spondeat, in Oris Novæ Franciæ negotiabuntur. // (*Tail-piece*). *F. 4 verso*: Exegesis // Libelli supplicis, oblatis Regiæ Majestati // Hispaniæ, a Duce Petro Fernandez de Quir, // *etc.* *F. 9 verso (Woodcut, as in former edition)* // Samoiedarum, trahis a rangiferis protractis insidentium; // Nec non Idolorum ab iisdem cultorum effigies. // *F. 10 recto*: Descriptio (*sic*) // Regionum Siberiæ, Samojediæ, Tingoësiæ & // itinerum è Moscovia, *etc.* *F. 13 verso (White)*. *F. 14 recto*: Brevis descriptio // Itinerum ducentium, & fluviorū labentium // è Moscoviâ Orientem, *etc.* *F. 19 recto, underneath*: Isaac Massa Haerlem. // *F. 19 verso (White)*. *F. 20 (White)*. *F. 21 I(xyl.)N* præfatione postremæ editionis // hujus libelli, cum agerem de descriptione Si-// beriæ, *etc.* *F. 22 verso*: De detectione Terræ polaris, sub latitudine // octoginta graduum. // *F. 23 verso, line 24*: Finis. // *F. 24 recto*: (*Woodcut of a whale*) // Veram effigiem Balenarum exhibemus, quarum ossa, & pingue-// do maximo *etc.* (8 lines). *F. 24 verso (White)*.

Maps and plates: 1. *The world in two hemispheres*. The Cali-

fornian Coast has been altered entirely, and the line up to Fretum Anian has been erased.

2. *Hudson's map*: the same as in the former edition; the words, to be found on the merid. 360 however: "Meridianus per insulas Corvi et Florum transiens, ac pro omnium primo usurpari solitus", have been erased for this edition. Printed signature A5 (Tiele, *Mémoire* p. 183 reads A3).

3. *Massa's map*: the same as in the 1612 edition, but the part to the right has been greatly revised: It shows two figures of Samoyeds, with the inscription: Gentium Samojedarum pellibus a capite usq; ad Calcem, adversus intolerabilem frigoris injuriam, indutorum effigies; names, like Toboll, metropolis Siberiæ, have been added; other names have been changed, like Ob: in Obb reca, Piet Riviere in Pyhr Riviere, etc. Some names on the left side have equally been changed, as Pitzaniza in Pitzianitsa, Niesnaja in Nisscaja. Printed signature, D2 ¹).

4. *Map of Spitsbergen*, called Niev lant and of *Nova Zembla*. Down at the bottom, in the right corner, an engraved signature F ²).

5. Engraving showing two seahorses. With printed signature F3.

Concerning Hudson: text pp. 5—7 (Document Q). Title and prolegomena reprinted in Asher, pp. 241—242; text (with translation) pp. 193—194 (the latter reprinted in Read, pp. 191—193).

¹) This is consequently the third state of Massa's map. The British Museum also possesses copies of Massa's Map and Hudson's Chart. Both maps are on a somewhat smaller scale than those in the printed book. The latter have both been reproduced in Asher's book, and Hudson's Chart has been added, on a reduced scale, to Bacon, *Henry Hudson*, 1907.

²) This map was used in the same year for: *Histoire du Pays nommé Spitsberghe* by the same author. Besides other emendations it bears the inscription, on the left at the top, at 25 degrees, above coast line: "Glacies ab Henrico Hudsono invento a^o 1608."

Asher, XLV; Tiele, *Mémoire*, n^o. 153; Idem, *Bibliographie*, n^o. 374. Reprint by Frederik Muller. 1878.

Copies: Univ. Library, Leiden; Thysius Library, Leiden; Royal Library, Berlin; Stadtbibliothek, Hamburg; Imperial Public Library, St. Petersburg (2 copies); British Museum, London (3 copies, 2 defect.); Public Library, Boston; Harvard Library, Cambridge (Mass.).

"The supplementary accounts in this last edition treat of the expedition of May, who had returned in the latter part of 1612, and describe in a few words the plan of the voyage to the north in 1613 (Pieter Fransz. c. s.), and further, many particulars are added about the island of Spitsbergen, now rendered prominent, since 1612, by the whale-fishery, which had commenced in that year. The attack of the English on the Netherland whalers, in the summer of 1613, was at the same time censured in the most violent terms, and the English Company threatened with reprisals. This however, drew down upon Hessel Gerritsz. a reprimand from the Netherland owners of the vessels. They felt themselves much too weak, openly to resist the far more numerous English whalers; and considered themselves as implicated in this attack of the cartographer on James I, who felt already highly displeased with the competition his subjects had to endure on the part of the Netherlanders in the Ice-sea.

To avoid, if possible, the dreaded consequences of his imprudence, Hessel Gerritsz. added to the still extant copies of his last edition a few pages, in which he owned, in very humble terms, to have erred in his judgment, and highly extolled the forbearance of the Netherland merchants, who expected the maintenance of their rights only from the gracious clemency of the king of England. To substantiate this good right, Hessel Gerritsz. at the same time handed over a short abstract, which his friend Plancius had drawn up, and in which, on geographical ground, the honour of Heemskerck and Barendsz. as the discoverers of Spitsbergen was fully vindicated.

Text: *F. 1 recto*: C(xyl.)Vm temere, & inconsideratè antea // scripserim, hosce mercatores etc. *F. 1 verso*: Refutatio rationum, quibus Angli Dominatio-//nem Piscationis ad Insulam Spitsbergensem sive Novam // Terram prætere & defendere conantur. // *F. 2 verso, line 28*: Finis. // *F. 3 and 4 (White)*.

4 leaves Goth., 34 lines, with sign. G(—4), with catchwords. 4to.

Asher, XLV; Tiele, *Mémoire*, n^o. 153; *Bibliographie*, n^o. 374 Note.

Copies: Univ. Library, Leiden. — British Museum, London (G. 7164).

“In this way the little pamphlet of Hessel Gerritsz. became considerably enlarged.

It was, however, in its original form that it was generally known, and everywhere spread. Already in 1613 we meet with two German translations in the collection of diaries of voyages of De Bry and in Megiser's *Septentrio Novantiquus*. In 1614, a third translation followed in the collection of Hulsius (Part 12). An English version appeared in 1624, in the well-known work of Purchas. The collection was furthermore reprinted no less than five times in Dutch works¹⁾, and the spread of the work went even farther than this. One can scarcely take up any volume, written in the seventeenth century about the northern passage, without finding the visible traces that the pamphlet, written by Hessel Gerritsz. was the head-fountain and often supplied the only spring of information. It not unfrequently happened that the text was, either partially or entirely, simply re-printed, without the writer's name being mentioned. The contents of the interesting work may thus be at last considered as the common property of the learned. The book itself however, long remained little known, and only

¹⁾ In the work entitled: *Commencement and Progress of the East-India Company*, — in the collection of Hartgers, — in the edition of Jan Jansz., — in Saeghman's “*Description of Muscovy*,” — and in Witsen's “*North- and East-Tartary*.”

very recently it attracted again the general attention. Meanwhile copies of it had become very rare, and in cannot but be very welcome to the lovers of geography and history to know that it is now at last reprinted in its original form, devoid of all additions, alterations or curtailments which such a work as this is so likely to undergo at the appearance of every new edition in large collections; and especially in translations, such as the seventeenth century could furnish forth."

Facsimile-reprint, 1878.

The Arctic North-East and West Passage. Detectio Freti Hudsoni or Hessel Gerritsz's collection of tracts by Himself, Massa and De Quir on the N. E. and W. Passage, Siberia and Australia. Reproduced, with the Maps, in Photolithography in Dutch and Latin after the editions of 1612 and 1613. Augmented with a new English translation by Fred. John Millard, English Translator at Amsterdam. And an Essay on the Origin and Design of This Collection by S. Muller Fz. Keeper of the Records at Utrecht. Amsterdam. Frederik Muller & C^o. 1878.

Title, Preface, signed Frederik Muller, June 1878. — Introduction XXVII pp. — Facsimile of the First Dutch edition of 1612. With the three maps. — Reprint (not facsimile) of the Latin edition of 1613. 26 leaves (Sign. A2—G2) ¹). Neither the map of Spitsbergen nor the woodcuts of the Samoyeds have been reproduced ²). — Translation of the Dutch edition of 1612, dated Amsterdam, Frederik Muller, 1875. 47 pp. 4to.

Tiele, Bibliographie, n^o. 375.

¹) Leaf F was printed later and sent to the buyers of the book. Hence it often lacks.

²) Frederik Muller published in 1867 a collection of the titles, etc. of old Dutch voyages in which he inserted all the plates and maps of the editions of 1612 and 1613 (nrs. 21—30).

C. J. DE LAET, NIEUWE WERELD. ¹⁾

First edition, Dutch. 1625.

Nieuwve Wereldt // Ofte // Beschrijvinghe // van // West-Indien, // Wt veelderhande Schriften ende Aen-teecken-ingen // van verscheyden Natien byeen versamelt // Door // Ioannes de Laet, // Ende met // Noodighe Kaerten ende Tafels voorsien. // (*Printersmark*) // Tot Leyden. // In de Druckerye van Isaack Elzevier. // Anno 1625. // — // Met Privilegie der Ho. Mo. Heeren Staten Generael, voor 12. Iaren. //

12 prel. leaves; 510 pages and 8 leaves for the Index. — 1 white leaf. Black letter. With 10 maps. Folio.

Dedication to the States General, dated: Leyden, 15 November 1624. The Privilege dated 17 July 1624.

Maps: West Indische Eylanden. — Nova Hispania, Nova Galicia, Guatemala. — Terra Firma, Nuevo Reyno de Granada, Popajan. — Peru. — Chile. — Strate van Magallanes. — Rio de la Plata, Tucuman, Santa Cruz de la Sierra. — Brasil. — Guiana. — Venezuela.

The maps have been projected and delineated by Hessel Gerritsz. ("meest ontworpen ende ghestelt") as the author says in his Preface.

Concerning Hudson; pp. 83, 84 ²⁾ and 88, 89. ³⁾ (Document R).

¹⁾ Concerning him and this work see: Collections of The New York Historical Society. 2d Series. Vol. I. pp. 281—288. The writer, G. Folsom, did not apparently know the second Dutch edition of 1630.

²⁾ Reprinted in: *Beschryvinghe van Virginia, Nieuw Nederlandt, etc.* Amst., J. Hartgers, 1651. 4to. p. 14 and 15.

³⁾ Reprinted ib. pp. 20—22, with the view of New Amsterdam. (Asher, Essay, n^o. 6.)

Asher, Bibl. Essay, n^o. 1. — Tiele, Bibl. n^o. 626. — Willems, Les Elzevier, n^o. 230.

Copy: Royal Library, The Hague.

Second edition. Dutch. 1630.

Beschrijvinghe // van West-Indien // door Ioannes de Laet. // Tweede druck: // In ontallijcke plaetsen ver//betert, vermeerdert, met eenige// nieuwe Caerten, beelden van // verscheyden dieren ende // planten verciert. // *At the bottom:* Tot Leyden, bij de Elzeviers. A^o. 1630.

14 prel. leaves, including engraved titlepage by Cornelis Claessen Dusent; 622 pages, 9 leaves for the Index and 1 white leaf. With 14 maps and some woodcuts. Folio.

The text has been augmented and has been divided into 16 chapters instead of 15, though this addition is only nominal; it has some woodcuts relating to natural history and ethnology; besides the maps of the former edition, there are:

De generaele Kaerte voor dese Inleydinghe. — Nova Francia. — Nova Anglia, Novum Belgium. — Florida.

Concerning Hudson. p. 100, 101, and 104—106.

Asher, Bibl. Essay, n^o. 2; Tiele, Bibl. n^o. 627; Willems, Les Elzevier, n^o. 327.

Copy: Royal Library, The Hague.

Novvs orbis // seu // descriptionis // Indiæ Occidentalis // Libri XVIII. // Authore // Ioanne de Laet Antverp. // Novis Tabulis Geographicis et variis // Animantium, Plantarum Fructuumque // Iconibus illustrati. // Cum Privilegio. // *At the bottom:* Lvgd. Batav. apud Elzevirios. A^o. 1633. //

16 prel. leaves including the same engraved titlepage; 690 pages; 9 leaves for the Index. With 54 woodcuts in the text and 14 maps. Folio.

This edition, dedicated to Charles I, dated Lugduni Batavorum. Nonis Martij Anno 1633, is again greatly augmented. It has 18 chapters in stead of 16. Those almost entirely new are: Chapter XI: Peruvia sive Charcæ; Chapter XVI: Brasilia Septentrionalis ¹⁾).

The maps are the same as in the Dutch edition of 1630.

Concerning Hudson, p. 70—71; 72—73.

Asher, Bibl. Essay, n^o. 3; Tiele, Bibl. n^o. 628; Willems, n^o. 382.

Copy: Library of the University, Leiden.

French edition, 1640.

L'Histoire // dv // nouveav monde // ou // description // des Indes // Occidentales, // Contenant dix-huict Liures, // Par le Sieur Iean de Laet, d'Anuers; // Enrichi de nouvelles Tables Geographiques & Figures des // Animaux, Plantes & Fruicts. // (*Printersmark*) // A Leyde, // Chez Bonauenture & Abraham Elseuiers, Imprimeurs // ordinaires de l'Vniuersité. // — // CIO IOC XL. //

14 prel. leaves including the title, printed in red and black; 632 pages and 6 leaves for the Index. With woodcuts and maps. Folio.

This is a translation of the Latin edition of 1633 and has the same woodcuts and maps.

Concerning Hudson, p. 74—75, 77—78.

Asher, Bibl. Essay, n^o. 4; Tiele, Bibl. n^o. 629; Willems, Les Elzevier, n^o. 497.

Copy: Royal Library, The Hague.

¹⁾ "In preparing the Latin edition of his 'New World' De Laet, instead of translating the Dutch text, recomposed the work anew, condensing and altering many of the chapters, and interweaving the new materials collected in the interval of the publication." Folsom.

DOCUMENTS

A (page 17).

*From Register der resolutiën van de vergadering van XVII,
beginnende 15 April 1602 tot 24 October 1603.
[7 Aug. 1603].*

Page 81.

„Pointen daerop de Gedeputeerden van de respective
cameren der vereenichde Oost-Indische Comp^e sullen ver-
gaderen op den 5 Augusti eerstcommende binnen der stede
Amsterdamme, omme tsanderendaeghs in besognie te treden
ende te resolveren tgeene tot dienst der voorschreven
Compaignie noodich sal wesen.

1.

Alsoo na date vant octroy” etc.

.

11.

Page 86.

„Van gelijcken dient gedelibereert ende geresolveert off
die vaert benoorden oock weder bij der handt sal worden
genomen ende tot dien eynde met de Ed. Heeren Staten
van eenighe conditien ende benificien alvooren gehandelt, ghe-
merckt eenige particuliere diesaengaende alreede met de
selve heeren in communicatie sijn geweest. Te meer alsoo
dit point den 27 February laestleeden in de vergaderinghe
der Seventhienen is vuytgesteld, als blijft int 17^e article van
de besognie derselver vergaderinghe.”

In margine:

Vande vaert om de Noord.

Den inhouden van dit point is affgeslaegen alsoo ment
acht ondienstich te wesen voor dese Comp^e ende dat men

daeromme veel eerder dese vaert soo deselve bij eenige participanten mocht bij der handt genomen worden, behoirde met alle debvoir te beletten.

B (page 21, 25—27) ¹).

Lettre au roi par M. Jeannin le 25 Janvier 1609, sur la recherche du passage du Nord.

Sire,—J'ai ci-devant conféré, par commandement de votre Majesté, et sur les lettres qu'il lui a plu m'écrire, avec un marchand d'Amsterdam, nommé Isaac Le Maire, lequel est homme riche et bien entendu au fait du commerce des Indes d'Orient, désireux d'y servir votre Majesté, sur les ouvertures que je lui en ai faites, et de joindre avec lui d'autres marchands, comme aussi des pilotes, mariniers et matelots expérimentés en telles navigations, qu'il dit avoir empêchés de prendre parti dès le temps que je lui en parlai. Or, comme il m'en a pressé plusieurs fois, je lui ai toujours dit que votre Majesté n'y pouvait prendre aucune résolution qu'après celle des Etats, et le traité de trêve qu'on poursuit à présent fait ou rompu: ce qu'il juge être bien véritable, et s'est aussi contenté de cette réponse; mais il m'envoya ici son frère, il y a quelques jours, pour me faire entendre qu'un pilote anglois, lequel a été deux fois en mer pour rechercher le passage du nord, auroit été mandé à Amsterdam par la Compagnie des Indes d'Orient, pour apprendre de lui ce qu'il en auroit reconnu, et s'il espéroit de trouver ce passage; de la réponse duquel eux étoient demeurés fort contents, et en opinion que cette espérance pouvoit réussir. Ils n'avoient toutefois voulu pour lors faire la dite entreprise, mais contenté seulement l'Anglais, et renvoyé avec promesse qu'il les viendrait trouver en l'année suivante 1610. Ce congé lui ayant été donné, Le Maire, qui le connoît fort bien, auroit

¹) A complete translation of this letter may be found in Asher, pp. 244—253.

depuis conféré avec lui, et entendu ses raisons, dont il a aussi communiqué avec Plancius, qui est grand géographe et bon mathématicien, le quel soutient, par les raisons de son art, et de ce qu'il a appris tant de cet Anglais que d'autres pilotes qui ont fait la même navigation, tout ainsi que du côté du midi on a trouvé en la mer du Sud, approchant le pôle antarctique, un passage qui est le détroit de Magellan, qu'il y en doit pareillement avoir un autre du côté du nord. L'un des pilotes, qui fut aussi, il y a trois ans, employé en cette même recherche, et passa jusqu'à Nova-Zembla, qui est à soixante-treize degrés de latitude en la côte de la mer Tartarique, tirant au nord, a déclaré que, pour n'être lors assez expérimenté en cette navigation, au lieu d'entrer avant en pleine mer, où elle n'est jamais gelée à cause de la profondeur et de la grande impétuosité de ses flots et vagues, il se contenta de côtoyer les bords, où, ayant trouvé la mer gelée, lui et ses compagnons furent arrêtés et contraints de s'en retourner sans passer outre.

L'Anglais a encore rapporté qu'ayant été du côté du nord jusqu'à quatre-vingt-un degrés, il a trouvé que plus il approchoit du nord moins il y avoit de froidure, et au lieu que vers Nova-Zembla la terre n'étoit couverte d'herbe et n'y avoit sinon des bêtes qui vivent de chair et de proie, comme ours, renards et autres semblables, il avoit trouvé, èsdits quatre-vingt-un degrés, de l'herbe sur la terre, et des bêtes qui en vivent: ce que Plancius confirme par raison, et dit que près du pôle le soleil luisant sur la terre cinq mois continuels, encore que les rayons d'icelui y soient foibles, néanmoins, à cause du long temps qu'ils y demeurent, ils ont assez de force pour échauffer le terroir, et le rendre tempéré et commode pour l'habitation des hommes, produire herbe et nourrir bétail; alléguant cette similitude d'un petit feu qui ne feroit qu'être allumé et aussitôt éteint. Il y ajoute aussi qu'il ne se faut arrêter à l'opinion des Anciens, qui estimoient la terre près des deux pôles inhabitable à cause de sa froidure, et qu'ils se peuvent aussi bien tromper qu'en

ce qu'ils ont dit la zone torride être inhabitable à cause de sa grande chaleur, qu'on reconnoît néanmoins par expérience être habitée, fort tempérée, fertile, et commode pour la vie des hommes, et qu'il y a aussi beaucoup plus de chaleur sous les tropiques du Cancer et du Capricorne que sous la zone torride; et par cette même raison, Plancius juge que la froidure croît, et est toujours plus grande jusqu'au soixante-sixième degré, mais qu'en passant plus outre devers le pôle, elle devient moindre, et ainsi l'ont trouvé l'Anglais et d'autres pilotes, lesquels ont ci-devant fait tels voyages, dont ils concluent que, pour trouver le passage du nord avec plus de facilité, au lieu de rechercher les côtes de la mer à soixante-dix, soixante-onze, soixante-douze ou soixante-treize degrés, comme les Hollandais ont fait ci-devant, il se faut avancer en pleine mer, et monter jusqu'à quatre-vingt-un, quatre-vingt-deux et quatre-vingt-trois degrés, ou plus, s'il est besoin, ès quels lieux la mer n'étant point gelée, ils se promettent qu'on pourra trouver ce passage, et par icelui, en tirant vers l'orient, passer le détroit d'Anian, et suivant la côte orientale de Tartarie, aller au royaume de Cattay, à la Chine, aux îles du Japon, comme aussi, attendu que l'orient et l'occident aboutissent l'un à l'autre, à cause de la rondeur de la terre, aller par même moyen aux Moluques et aux Philippines; lequel voyage, et toute cette navigation, tant pour aller que pour retourner, pourroient être faits en six mois, sans approcher d'aucuns ports et forteresses du roi d'Espagne; au lieu qu'à le faire par le Cap de Bonne-Espérance, qui est le chemin ordinaire qu'on tient à présent, on y met ordinairement près de trois ans, et si on est sujet aux rencontres et incursions des Portugais.

Il me proposoit donc cette ouverture du passage du nord pour savoir si votre Majesté auroit agréable de l'entreprendre ouvertement, et en son nom, comme chose fort glorieuse, et qui lui acquerroit une grande louange envers la postérité, ou bien sous le nom de quelque particulier, dont on ne laisseroit de lui attribuer l'honneur si le succès en étoit bon,

offrant de la part de son frère, de fournir le vaisseau et les hommes, si non que votre Majesté y en veuille aussi employer quelques-uns des siens avec ceux qu'il y mettra, les quels sont expérimentés en tels voyages; disant que, pour exécuter cette entreprise, il ne faut que trois ou quatre mille écus au plus, lesquels il désire tirer de votre Majesté, pour ce que lui, qui n'est qu'un particulier, n'y voudroit employer cette somme, et n'en ose communiquer à personne, d'autant que la compagnie des Indes d'Orient craint sur toutes choses qu'on ne les prévienne en ce dessein, et qu'à cette occasion son frère n'avoit osé parler à l'Anglais qu'en secret. Il dit encore que si ce passage est trouvé et découvert, qu'il facilitera bien fort le moyen de faire une compagnie pour aller en tous les lieux susdits, et que plus de gens y mettront leurs fonds qu'en l'autre qui est déjà faite, sans que la compagnie s'en puisse plaindre, attendu que l'octroi qu'elle a obtenu des Etats n'est que pour y aller du côté du Cap de Bonne-Espérance, non de celui du nord, dont les Etats se sont réservés le pouvoir de disposer au cas que le passage puisse en être trouvé, et, pour inviter quelques pilotes courageux de se hasarder à en faire la recherche, promis vingt-quatre mille livres de loyer à celui qui en seroit le premier inventeur.

J'ai dit au frère de Le Maire, qui m'en a communiqué de sa part, et lui ai aussi écrit que j'en donnerois incontinent avis à votre Majesté pour en savoir sa volonté, et la lui faire entendre au plus tôt, attendu qu'il dit, si on veut penser à ce voyage dès cette année, qu'il le faut commencer en mars au plus tard pour en espérer bon succès, et que les autres qui l'ont ci-devant fait en juillet s'en sont mal trouvés, et ont été surpris de l'hiver. Ayant aussi été averti que Plancius étoit venu à la Haye deux jours après avoir communiqué au frère de Le Maire, je le mandai aussitôt pour en conférer avec lui, comme j'ai fait, sans toutefois lui faire connoître que Le Maire m'en eût fait parler, ni que votre Majesté eût aucun dessein d'entreprendre cette recherche; car ledit sieur Le Maire ne désire pas que personne en

sache rien : aussi n'en ai-je parlé à Plancius que par forme de discours, et comme étant curieux de m'instruire et d'apprendre ce qu'il en sait et juge par raison pouvoir être fait ; lequel m'a confirmé tout ce que dessus, et qu'il avoit excité feu Amsquerque¹⁾, amiral de la flotte qui fit l'exploit du détroit de Gibraltar, de faire cette entreprise, lequel s'y étoit résolu, dont il espéroit bien, pour ce que le dit Amsquerque étoit fort entendu aux navigations, et désireux d'acquérir cet honneur, comme Magellan avoit fait découvrant le passage du côté de la mer du Sud ; mais il mourut en ce combat. C'est à votre Majesté de me commander ce qu'il lui plaît que je fasse en cet endroit. La vérité est qu'on ne peut répondre du succès de cette entreprise avec certitude ; mais il est bien vrai que dès long temps Le Maire s'est informé de ce qu'on pouvait espérer de telle entreprise, et qu'il est tenu pour homme avisé et industrieux ; puis on n'y hasarde-roit pas beaucoup. Quand Ferdinand reçut l'avis de Christophe Colomb, et lui fit équiper trois navires pour aller au voyage des Indes d'Occident, l'entreprise sembloit encore pour lors plus incertaine, et tous les autres potentats auxquels cet homme s'étoit adressé s'en étoient moqués, jugeant son entreprise impossible ; et toutefois elle a produit un si grand fruit. C'est aussi l'avis de Plancius et d'autres géographes, qui ont écrit que du côté du nord il y a encore beaucoup de terres qui n'ont été découvertes, lesquelles Dieu peut réserver à la gloire et au profit d'autres princes, n'ayant voulu tout donner à la seule Espagne. Quand même il n'en succéderoit rien, sera toujours chose louable de l'avoir entrepris, et le repentir n'en sera jamais grand, puisqu'on y hasarde si peu.

Cette lettre étant achevée, et moi près de l'envoyer à votre Majesté, Le Maire m'a derechef écrit, et envoyé le mémoire qui est ci-joint, lequel contient un discours assez ample, ensemble les raisons de ce que dessus. Il me mande pareille-

¹⁾ Jacob van Hoemskerck.

ment qu'aucuns de la compagnie des Indes, ayant été avertis que l'Anglais avoit conféré secrètement avec lui, sont entrés en appréhension qu'il s'en vouloit servir et l'employer lui-même pour découvrir ce passage, qu'à cette occasion ils ont de nouveau traité avec lui pour entreprendre la dite navigation dès cette année, ayant ceux de la chambre d'Amsterdam écrit à cet effet aux autres chambres qui sont de la même compagnie pour le faire approuver, avec déclaration, s'ils le refusent, qu'ils entreprennent eux seuls. Le Maire ne laisse pourtant d'exhorter votre Majesté à cette entreprise, me mandant qu'il a un pilote, lequel a déjà fait ce même voyage, et est plus expérimenté et capable que l'Anglais. C'est à elle de commander son intention. J'ai eu plusieurs conférences avec d'autres, soit pour les voyages des Indes d'Orient ou d'Occident, et suis assuré, quand il lui plaira d'y penser à bon escient, et pour en tirer du fruit, qu'il y aura moyen de lui faire avoir de très-bons hommes, et fort expérimentés; qu'il y a aussi de riches marchands lesquels seront de la partie pour le commerce des Indes d'Orient, et plus volontiers encore si ce passage du nord est trouvé: mais, quant aux Indes d'Occident, ils tiennent tous qu'il y faut employer un plus grand appareil de forces. Il est vrai que le voyage est aussi beaucoup plus court; et ceux qui ont quelque connoissance des entreprises qu'on y peut dresser, en promettant tout bon succès, dont ils discourent avec de si bonnes raisons, qu'il y a sujet d'y ajouter foi; j'en attendrai ses commandemens, priant Dieu, Sire, qu'il donne à Sa Majesté et à sa royale famille tout heur et prospérité. Votre etc.

P. JEANNIN.

De la Haye ce vingt-cinquième Janvier 1609.

C (page 31).

From Mr. P. van Dam's Beschrijving van den staat en gelegenheid der Oost-Indische Compagnie.

1^e Capittel, 5^e deel. fol. 18 v^o.

„De voorsz. Hutson daarop die reijse aangevangen, en den 6 April uijt Tessel in zee gelopen sijnde, mitsgaders zijn cours langs de Noortse kust na Nova Sembla gehouden hebbende, heeft den 14 Majj de zee aldaar soo vol ijs als in de voorgaande jaeren gevonden, sulcx heeft hij geresolveert, tegens zijn instructie een andere wegh te soecken door de straat Davids, werwaarts hij dan is geseylt.”

D (page 32—34)

From Mr. P. van Dam's Beschrijving van den staat en gelegenheid der Oost-Indische Compagnie.

CONTRACT MET HENRY HUDSON.

Op heden den 8 Januarij in 't jaar onses Heeren een duysent ses hondert en negen zijn met malkanderen geaccordeert en overkomen de Bewinthebberen van de Oost-Indische Compagnie van de camer van Amsterdam van de tienjarige reeckeninge ter eenre, en Mr. Henry Hudson, Engelsman, geassisteert met Jodocus Hondius ter andere sijde, in maniere navolgende. Te weten: dat de voorsz. Bewinthebberen metten eersten sullen equipperen een scheepken of jaght, van omtrent dertigh lasten, waarmede de voorn. Hudson omtrent den eersten van April, van volck, vivres, en andere nootlijkheden wel voorsien, sal seijlen om passagie te soecken door 't noorden, benoorden Nova Sembla om, en soo lange de longitudine vervolgen, dat hij sal konnen seijlen zijldwaart

tot op de hoogte van sestigh graden, en soo veel kennisse van landen sien te bekomen als sonder merckelijk tijtverlies sal kunnen geschieden, en is 't doenlijk stracks wederom keeren, om aan de Bewinthebberen te doen getrouwelijk rapport en relaes van zijn reyse, en overgeven zijn journalen, coursens, kaerten en alles wat hem op de reijse wedervaeren is, sonder iets aghter te houden. Op welcke aanstaende reyse de Bewinthebberen aan den voorsz. Hudson sullen betalen soo tot zijn uijtrustinge op de voorsz. reijse, als tot onderhoud van zijn vrouw en kinderen, de somme van aght hondert gulden, en ingevalle (daar Godt voor sij) hij in een jaar niet wederomme hier te lande, of hier omtrent en quame te arriveren, sullen de Bewinthebberen nogh aan zijn huijsvrouw betalen twee hondert gl. courant, en alsdan aan hem en sijne erven niet vorder gehouden sijn, ten waere hij daer na nogh moghte komen te arriveren, ofte dat hij binnen 'sjaars gekomen waar, ende de passagie goet ende bequaem, datse Comp^e wederomme soude gebruijcken, gevonden hadde, in welcken gevalle de Bewinthebberen aan den voorn. Hudson voor sijne periculen, moeijten en konste sullen recompenseren tot haere discretie, waer mede den voorn. Hudson te vreden is. Ende ingevalle de Bewinthebberen goetvonden alsdan deselve reijse te vervolgen en continueren, is met den voorn. Hudson geaccordeert en verdragen, dat hij hier te lande sijn woonstee met vrouw en kinderen sal nemen, en hem van niemant anders als van de Comp^e laten gebruijcken, en dat tot redelijkheid en discretie van de Bewinthebberen, die hem oock van den selven vorderen dienst alsdan in alle billijkheijt en redelijkheid beloven te vergenoegen en contenteren. Alles sonder argh of list. In kennisse der waerheijt sijn hier van gemaect twee contracten van eenen teneur, en bij beide partijen onderteijckent, als mede bij Jodocus Hondius, als tolck en getuijge. Datum als boven.

Was geteeckent: Dirck van Os, I. Poppe, Henry Hudson; lager stont: bij mij Jodocus Hondius, als getuijge.

Ea (page 36).

*From: „Copieboek van Brieven” No. B (Archief der Kamer Zeeland) *).*

Two letters addressed by the Chamber of Zeeland in 1609, in which year that Chamber presided, to the Chamber of Amsterdam, in answer to a letter of the latter, dated March 11, 1609, concerning Hudson ¹⁾.

„Eersame, Wijse, voorsienighe ende discrete.

Wij hebben uwe E. schrijven van den 11 deser wel ontfangen, bij denwelcken verstaen hoe dat den Engelschman Mr. Hutson Groote dispuysten heeft gehadt jegens den Equipage-mr. Dierck Gerritss. op de gagie van de Ingelschen die met hem souden vaeren ende andersins meer tgene uwe E. is adviserende. Daerop is desen dienende voor ons advys ende antwoorde: dat alsoo den selven Hutson zijn afscheyt heeft genomen sal gedeportteert blijven; ende alwaert dat hij van andere Resolutie wierdt om de reyse te voldoen, zoo en sal uwe E. hem in geenderhande maniere aennemen maer gedeporteert laten blijven. Ende alsoo den selven geadvansseert is sekere penningen ter somma van vijffentwintich pondt groote min off meer, uwe E. sal gelieven denselven Hutson te constringeren bij maniere van Rechte off bij aprehensie tot restitutie van de voors. penningen, die hem de Comp^e heeft geadvansseert.

Uwe E. sal oock believeen wt te sien naer een hervaren man om in de voors. Hutsons plaetse te nemen met advys ende kennisse van Petrus Plancius, opdat de Reyse met allen vlijt mach worden gevoordert; daerop uwe E. alle neer-

¹⁾ The book containing copies of the letters written by the Chamber of Amsterdam to various bodies and individuals in Europe begins with one dated April 18, 1652. The earlier books are lost.

*) Translation, see p. 139.

sticheyt sal gelieven te doen ende goede opsicht te nemen, ten eynde dat het tegen den bequamen tijt mach gereet wesen om te vertrecken ende tseyle te gaen, welck wij uwe E. hoogelyck recommanderen, waeraen ons groote vrientdschap sal geschieden. Hier mede Eer same etc.: ¹⁾

Eb 36.

„Camere van Amstelredam *).

Wij hebben uwe E. missyve van data 11 deser gisteravont wel ontfangen ende desen dach in onse vergaderinge in deliberatie geleyt.

Wij syn seere verwondert int vrent comportedement van Mr. Hutson ende hebben bevonden dat ongeraden is hem op de reyse te laten gaen, want begint hij hier onder onse oogen te muytneren wat soude hij doen als hij van ons waer; daerom vinden raedsaem uwe E. hem de reyse sulle affseggen ende hem eysschen de gegeven 25 £ Vls. ende indien hij die met vrentschap niet en wilde restitueren, dat Uwe E. met rechte hem daertoe sullen dwingen.

De Comp^e vinden raedsaem dat de reyse in alder manieren voortgae ende dat uwe E. sullen gelieven uyttiesen naer een bequaem, verstandich ende ervaren persoon op alsulcke reyse, die aennemende met het advys van Plantius, op dat onse gedaene costen ende moyten zoot mogelijk is niet onvruchtbaer en blijve.

Dit hebben wij niet connen naerlaten Uwe E. te verwittigen. Hiermede Eersame etc. data 14 Meert A^o 1609, uyt den naem van de 17^{ne} geschreven.

¹⁾ A line is drawn through the letter and a note in the margin states: "This was not sent, but the one hereafter was despatched." „Dese niet voortgesonden, alsoo der den anderen hierna is voortgegaen."

*) Translation, see p. 140.

Ec

*From Copieboek *)*

Letter to the Chamber of Amsterdam, of January 15, 1609.

„Belangende het stuck aengevangen deur Uwe E. om benoorden te seylen naer Waygaets ende alsoo na China gedaen met den piloot Mr. Thomas ¹⁾ Hutson, wij en hebben daer niet tegen dan ons bedunckens maer alsoo veel meer verloren cost sal gedaen worden, ende alwaert deur andere particuliere aengevangen, wij achten dat het de Comp^e niet prejudiciabel sal wesen naer ons gevoelen, ende dit zij Uwe E. voor advys.”

Ed

*From Copieboek **)*

Letter to the same, January 23, 1609.

„Met onsen voorgaenden van 15 deser hebben wij beantwoort dien van Uwe E. van den 8 stante, toucherende de vaert van Waygaets, dan alzo de saecke van ghewichte is hebben daer naer breederwegen op vergadert, ende is bij den meerder deel gevonden, dat het vele swaericheden onderworpen is, eensdeels dat volgens het octroy ons de vaerdt langs de Caep de buena esperance als strecho de magellanes bij de Heeren Staeten gegundt is ende niet voorder, waerop dat alle participanten die onder ons sorteren haer oogenmerck genomen hebben, ende off het

¹⁾ Also so called in the Resolutions of the Amsterdam Chamber:

„Adi 19 January 1609.

Is geresolveert datmen mr. Tomas Hutson aengenomen op de voyage van Noorden op rekeninge van sijne gage sal gheven de somme van Eenhondert vijftich gulden.”

*) Translation, see p. 140.

**) „ „ p. 141.

anders geviel dan wel, questie off die participanten ons het selve souden aproberen, alsoo dat ons bedunckens tselve meer een werck van particuliere behoort te wesen als van onse Comp^e. Ten anderen alsoo sulcken ghewichtigen saecke behoort bij alle de cameren een beschrijvinge daer op gedaen te werden, om alsoo gesamenderhandt te sien wat ten meesten oorbaer ende dienst van de Comp^e soude mogen wesen, ende daerenboven zoo en connen wij niet bevinden dat het de Comp^e dienstich is noch practicabel, ende houden voor seker dat zoo vele gelt sal int water geworpen syn ende zoot by particuliere geanveert wert achten dat het de Comp^e niet prejudiciabel sal syn, mede, ende soo der sulcken aparentie waere als den persoon aengeeft, die Comp^e die den selven tot tweemaal hebben wtgereedt, die en souden hem om een duysent pondt groote niet verlegen laeten om de derde premie te hebben, dewijle zij alreede de oncosten van twee voyagien geleden hebben.”

Ee

From Resolutiën van de Kamer van Amsterdam:)*

„Adi 29 December Ao. 1608.

Omme de Contracten metten Engelsman te maecken ofte concipieren, ende de Brieven te concipieren om ande cameren te schrijven syn geconcipieert ¹⁾ Srs. Dirck van Os, Jan Poppe ende Arent ten Grotenhuys.”

Op denzelfden dag werden de Bewindhebbers Marcus de Vogelaer en Jan Hermansz. gecommitteert „omme beneffens den Equipagemeester Dirck Gerritsz. te sien nae een bequaem scheepgen tusschen 25 ende 35 lasten, daermede den Engelsman sal mogen varen.”

¹⁾ Sic, for: gecommitteert.

*) Translation, see p. 142.

F (page 36)

From Resolutiën van de XVII. 25 Maart 1609.

instructie voor 't jaght naer Waigats varende	Is geresolveert dat dinstructie dienende voort jacht dat sal varen naer de Strate van Way- gats gestipuleert ende gemaect sal werden bij de Camere tot Amsterdam.
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G (page 37)

*From Register der resolutiën van de vergadering der XVII
van de Oost-Indische Comp^e, beginnende 9 Juli 1608 en
eindigende 5 Juli 1623.*

Pag. 46. „1 September 1609.

Poincten waer op de gedeputeerden van de respective
Cameren der Oost-Indische Comp^e zullen vergaderen jegen
den eersten September anno 1609 naestcomende binnen der
stadt Middelborch om te resolveren 't gene ten meesten
oirboor van de Comp^e sal goetgevonden werden.

1.

„Alsoo bij voorgaende resolutie” etc.

.

Pag. 52.

16.

De gedeputeerden van de Camer tot Amsterdam sullen
gelieven mede te brengen de ordre ende Instructien, dier
zijn gegeven aen het jacht de Goede Hope gevaren naer
de Weygadts.

In margine:

Van 't jaght naer Weigats gaende.

De gedeputeerde der camere van Amsterdam hebben ter vergaderinge van de 17^{ne} geexhibeert het innehouden van dit point, daer van aen de respective Cameren wirdt gegeven Copye, soo van de Instructie als van het contract gemaect met Mr. Henderick Hudson den pilote.

H (pages 37 and 38)

From Mr. P. van Dam's Beschrijving van den staat en gelegenheid der Oost-Indische Compagnie.

1^e Capittel, 5^e deel, fol. 18 v^o.

„Welcken niettegenstaande, heeft dese Compagnie in den jaere 1609 een jagt van ongeveer 30 lasten toegerust, mitsgaders als schipper daar op aangenomen eenen Mr. Henry Hudson, Engelsman, een ervaren piloot, met ordre om de voorsz. passagie te soecken door 't Noort en Noord Oosten boven Nova Sembla om, na de landen of straat van Ainam, ten minsten tot op de 60 graden benoorden de linie te seylen, en alsdan, of van de engte van Ainam, de tijt sulcx lijdende, wederom te keeren na dese landen, en wort bij zijn instructie wijders gelast, op geen andere wegen, of passages te dencken, dan om door 't voorsz. Noorden en Noort Oosten boven Nova Sembla de wegh te vinden, en dat met die verdere bijvoegingh, dat indien 't voor dat maal niet wel soude mogen gelucken, dat men in een andere reijse op een andere wegh soude kunnen denken.”

I (pages 59 and 60)

Uitloopboekje van scheepe van 1603 tot en met 1700
(arch. K. Amstm.):

A ^o 1608	Jaght Hope	40	1608 den 15 April	1610 15 Julij van de Span- giaerden ge- nomen.
Amsterdam	Jaght halve Maen	40	gedestineert nae 't Noorden	wederom gecomen.

A^o 1611 den 2 May sijn onder 't beleidt van den
Commandeur Laurens Reael nae Oostindien geseijlt

Amsterdam	Banda	400	. . . . .	1615 6 Martij aen 't Eylandt Mauritius verongeluckt.
	Jaght halve maen	40	. . . . .	gebleven.

„*Memoriael*” (arch. K. Zeeland)

Schepen wtgeuaren A^o 1608 van Amsterdam

TJacht de hope groot lasten. . .			Schipper Pieter Heeres.
TJacht de halve mane	40		Schipper Heijndrick Hoitsen

Sepen (*sic*) gesonden onder commadr. Laureijns Real
2 Mey 1611 van Amsterdam.

1615 6 Martii op Mauritius verloren.	Tschip Banda groot	400	Schipper Roeloff Thissen.
	TJacht de halve Mane	40	Schipper Melis Andriess.

K (page 64—68)

From E. van Meteren, Belgische oorlogen. 1611.

Wy hebben int voorgaende Boeck geseydt, dat de Oost-Indische Bewinthebbers in Hollant, in Meerte lest wtgesonden hadden, om passagie by het Noort-oosten ofte Noort-westen te soecken nae China, te weten een cloec Engels piloot, Herry Hutson ghenoeemt, met eenen Vlieboot omtrent 18 ofte 20 mannen Engelsche ende Nederlanders op hebbende, wel besorcht.

Desen Herry Hutson is wt Texel wtgevaren den 6 April, 1609. ende hy dobbelde de Cabo van Norweghen den 5. Mey, ende hielt synen coers nae Nova Zembla lanx de Noortse custen, maer vont aldaer de Zee soo vol ijs, als voorgaende Jaer gevonden hadde, so dat sy de hope van dat jaer aldaer den moet verloren: waer over om de coude, die eenighe die wel in Oost-Indien geweest waren qualijk herduren condon, zijn sy twistich gheworden onder den anderen, zijnde Engelse ende Nederlanders, waer over de Schipper Hutson hun voorhiel twee dinghen, d'eerste was te gaen, op 40 graden na de Custen van America, hier toe meest beweecht door brieven ende Caerten, die een Capiteyn Smith hem wt Virginia gesonden hadde, daermede hy aenwees een Zee om om te varen hun zuytse Colonie aende Noortsyde, ende van daer te gaen in een westerlijke Zee, dat welcke soo also gheweest ware (alsoo ervarentheyt tot noch toe contrarie wijst) soude een seer vorderlicke sake gheweest hebben, ende eenen corten wech om inde Indien varen. Den anderen voorslach was, den wech te soecken door de strate Danis, dat welcke sy generalijcken besloten, dies den 14 Meye derwaerts toe Zeylden, ende quamen met goeden wint den lesten Meye, aent eylant van Faro, daer sy alleenlijk 24. uren overbrochten met versche water in te nemen, vertreckende voeren totten 18. Julij tot op de Custen van nova Francia op 44 graden, daer sy moesten inloopen, om eenen nieuwen voormast te become den haren verloren hebbende, die sy daer vonden

ende opstelden, sy vonden die plaetse bequaem om Cabbeliaeu te vanghen als oock om trafficque van goede huyden ende Pelsen ofte weyeringe dat aldaer om een cleyn dinghen te becomen was, maer het schipvolck leefden qualick mettet Lantvolck, dinghen met ghewelt nemende, waerover twistich onder den anderen werden, de Engelsche vreesende sy vermant waren ende weecste, ende daeromme vreesden voorder te versoecken, aldus scheyden sy van daer den 26. Julij ende hielden de Zee tot derden Augustij ende quamen by Lant op 42 graden, van daer voeren voorder tot 12. Augustij quamen weder by Landt op de Latitude van 37 dry quart, van daer hielden by Lant, tot dat wy quamen op 40 en drie quart graden, aldaer sy vonden eenen goeden inganck tusschen twee hoofden, ende voeren daerinne den 12. Septembris een alsoo schoonen Rievriere als men conde vinden wijdt ende diepe ende goeden Ancker gront, ende was aen beyde syden, eyndelijck quamen op de Latitude van 42 graden ende 40 minuten met hun groot schip. Dan haer schipboot voer hooger in de Rievriere. Voor in de Rievriere vonden sy cloeck ende weerbaer volck, maer binnen int wtterste vonden vriendelijc ende beleeft volc, die veel lijftocht hadden, ende veel vellen ende Pelterijen, Macrters, Vossen ende veel ander commoditeyten, vogelen, vruchten, selve wijndruyven, witte ende roode ende handelden beleefdelicken metten volcke ende brochten van als wat mede, als sy nu ontrent vijftich mylen hooch op de rievriere gheweest hadden, zijn wedergekeert den vierden Octobris, ende hun weder ter Zee begheven, daer hadde meer connen wtgherecht worden, hadde daer goeden wille int schipvolck gheweest ende mede ghebreck van cenighe Nootdruft sulcx niet verhindert.

In Zee hebben hun beraetslaecht, ende waren van verscheyden opinien, de onderschipper een Nederlander was van meyninge, op torra nova te gaen verwinteren ende de Noordtweste passagie van Danis te doorsoecken, daer was de Schipper Hutson tegen, die vreesde syn gemutineert volck omdat sy by wylen hem rouwelick hadden ghedreycht, ende

mede, door de coude des winters, hun gheheel souden ver-
teyren, ende dan moeten keeren, veel vant volck teer ende
sieckelijck, niemant nochtans sprack van thuys nae Hollant
te varen, dat den schipper meerderhande achterdenck gaf,
dies hy voorsloech na Irlandt te varen verwinteren, daer sy
alle toestemden dan ten lesten zijn in Enghelant tot Dert-
mouth den 7 November ghecome, van waer haer meesters
de Bewinthebbers in Hollant hebben haer reyse verwitticht,
voorslach doende dat sy van het Noortweste te gaen ver-
soecken, met 15 hondert gulden in gelde meer in Nootdrufft
te besteden, beneffens den loon, ende dat sy int schip alreede
hadden, dies wilde ses ofte seven van zijn volck verandert
hebben, tot 20 mannen tghetal opmakende, etc. ende souden
van Dermouth tseyle gaen omtrent eersten Meerte om int
Noortwesten te wesen teghen deynde van Meerte, ende daer
de maent van April ende half Meye over te brengen met
Wal Visschen ende Beesten te dooden ontrent Eylandt van
Panar, ende dan na Noortwesten te varen, om aldaer den
tijt over te brenghen tot half September, ende daer nae
door het Noort-oosten van Schotland weder te keeren na
Hollant. Aldus is die reyse afgeloopen, ende eer de Bewindt-
hebbers hebben connen geadverteert worden van haer comste
in Engelandt, is door contrarie winden lange aengeloopen,
ende hebben tship ende volck ontboden ten eersten thuys
te comen, ende also tselvede soude geschieden, is den schipper
Herry Hudson van wegghen die overheyte aldaer, belast niet
te mogen vertrecken, maer dienst te moeten doen, zijn eygen
lant, also mede de ander Engelse die int schip waren, dat
nochtans vreemt velen dunckt, dat men de schippers niet
toelaten soude rekeninghe ende rapport te doene van haren
dienst ende besoigne, etc. aen hun meesters zijnde wtgesonden
voor tghemeyne benefitie van alderhande navigatien, dit
geschiede in Januario 1610, ende men achte, de Enghelsche
hem selve wilden mette schepen nae Virginia senden om
daer, de voors. riviere voorder te versoecken.

L

From Hessel Gerritsz.' Hudson tract *).

a. First edition Dutch. 1612.

Maer also de Engelschen, na dese voorseyde tochten van W. Barentsz. noch etlijke proefstukken in 't Noordoosten gedaen hadden, so hebben de H. Bewinthebberen van d'Oost Indische compagnie nu eenige jaren geleden, derwaert gesonden eenen genaemt Mr. Hudson, die mits dat hy in 't Oosten geen wech en vont, nae 't Westen geseylt is, van daer hy sonder profijt in Engheland is aengecomen: daer nae als hem d'Engelsche weder hebben uytgesonden, heeft hy merchelijk meerder voorspoed ende minder geluck ghehadt: want als hy naer veel moeytens ontrent 300 Duytsche mylen by Westen Terra de Baccalaos was gecomen, ende daer Winter lage gelegen hebbende op de hoochte van 52 grad. willende verder poogen, is hy, met al zijn Overheyt op 't Schip, van 't Scheeps-volk aen Land geset, die sonder verder te willen, t'huis gecomen zijn, diens af-tekeninghen wy u hier achter byghevoeght hebben, hopende dat wy van de schepen die nu derwaert gesonden zijn, noch verder bescheyt ende tydinge van een heele doorgang sullen becomen, waer door sy souden vercrygen een eeuwighe eer ende fama,

De hope van dese nieu-gevonden doorgang of strate boven Terra nova van Mr. Hudson opgedaen, is ghesterckt door de getuygenissen der Virginianen ende Floridianen, die vastelick affirmeren ten Noordwesten ¹⁾ van haer Lant een groote Zee te zijn, daer sy schepen seggen gesien te hebben, gelijk de schepen van d'Engelschen.

¹⁾ The Latin edition of 1612 has: ab Occasu æstivo.

^{*)} Translation from Muller's reprint, translated by F. J. Millard, pp. 6—7, see p. 142.

M (page 70—71)

From Hessel Gerritsz.' Hudson tract.

b. First edition Dutch. 1612.

Account printed on the back of the chart.

Mr. Hudson die ettelijcke malen Westwaerts een doorgangh ghesocht heeft, had zijn oogh-merck om door Lumbleys inlet in Fretum Davis in een doorgaende Zee te comen, ghelijck wy sulcx in zijn Caerte by Mr. Plantius gesien hebbende, by westen Nova Albion in Mar del Zur te loopen, daer een Enghels man, soo hy gheteeckent had, door ghepasseert was. Maer nae veel moeytens heeft hy dese wech, die hier op dees Caerte gheteeckent staet, gevonden, die hy vervolcht soude hebben, hadde 't ghemeen Scheeps-volck niet soo onwillich gheweest: want also sy wel 10 maenden uytgeweest hadden, daerse nochtans maer voor 8 maenden gevictalieert waren, ende op de heele wech maer een man ghesien hebben, die haer een groot Dier brocht dat sy aten; die, om dat hy qualijck ghetracteert wiert, niet weer en quam, soo isset gemeen Scheeps-volck (als sy weder vande hoochte van 52 gr. daer sy verwinterden, tot op de hoochte van 60 grad. langhs de West-zyde vande Baye, daer sy in gelooopen waren) opgheclommen, daer sy een ruyme Zee ende groote baren uytten Noordwesten vernamen, endelick tegens haer Meesters opgestaen, die vorder voort wilden, ende hebben d' Overheyt altesamen in een Sloep ofte schuyt buyten scheeps gheset, ende zijn alsoo met het Schip nae Enggelant geseylt: Hierom zijn sy, als sy t' huys quamen, altesamen in prison gheset, ende dese Somer zijnder op nieus schepen ter ordonnantie van den Coningh ende den Prince van Wallis derwaerts ghesonden, om de doorgangh verder t' ontdekken, ende Mr. Hudson met den zynen op te soecken: welcke schepen bevel hebben om met hun twee, als de passagie ghevonden sal zijn, door te passeeren, ende een t'huys te senden met de tydinghe, die wy verwachten.

N

*From Hessel Gerritsz.' Hudson tract *).*

c. First Latin edition. 1612.

From the prolegomena.

Quoniam vero etiam post navigationes prædictas Guilelmi Bernardi, viam illam aquilonarem aliquoties Angli adhuc tentaverant, visum fuit ante triennium annos D.D. Indicæ navigationis Præfectis eò mittere quendam M. Hudsonum Anglum, qui cum nullam ad Ortum viam, sed ejus vicem Oceanum invenisset glacie prorsus obstructum, ad Occasum deflexit, unde sine ullo profectu in Angliam appulit. Emissus autem de novo ab Anglis, cursu quidem longè prosperiore, at deteriore tamen successu usus est; cum enim post varios labores ultra Terram de Baccalaos 300. circiter milliaria Occasum versus emensus esset, inibique ad altitudinem graduum 52. jam hibernasset, et ulterius tendere certus esset, ecce non tantum ipse, sed omnis eius Senatus (ut sic dixerim) nauticus scaphæ ab importunis nautis impositus & in undas demissus, ipsi sine mora domum reversi sunt. Nos verò notas ejus ad calcem hujus libelli adjunximus, certiora per naves eò jam missas, imò optatum de Freto prorsus pervio nuntium expectantes. Quæ naves hoc ipso æternam sibi famam ac gloriam paraturæ sunt.....

Confirmatur hæc nuper inventi ab Hudsono supra Terram Novam transitus sive Freti spes, Virginianorum Floridanorumque concordibus (*sic*) testimonijs, disertè adfirmantium, terras suas ab Occasu æstivo allui vasto Oceano, in quo & naves Anglicanarum similes viderint.

*) Translation from Asher, pp. 183—185, see pp. 143—144.

O

*From Hessel Gerritsz.' Hudson tract *).*

d. First Latin edition. 1612.

Felicissimæ Anglicæ gentis expeditiones maritimæ, et prosperrimi quibus in ijs usi successus, eos ad rariores quoque profectiones tentandas magis magisque extimularunt. nam præter crebra suorum ad Ortum et Novam Zemblam Grœnlandiamq; itinera, perpetuò ferè laborarunt in investigando ad Occidentem, Chinam atque Iaponem versus, transitu, sive Freto, idque relicto ad lævam septemtrionali Americæ littore, occupata jam illic & colonijs suis insessa Virginia. Viam verò, quam eorum plerique in Freto hoc indagando ingressi sunt, secutus est anno 1602. Capitaneus quoque Georgius Winwood, quī quinquingentas (*sic*) ferè Anglicas leucas in Freto Davis sursum deorsum vagatus, et præ glacie tandem coactus retrogredi, tentavit num per sinum illum, quem Angli Lumles Inlet appellant, sub gradibus uno et sexaginta positum, invenire fortè posset optatam viam, sed centum in eo leucas Hypafricum versus progressus, pedem & hinc quoque retulit, tum quod diuturna itineris molestia nauticum vulgus esset attritum, tum quod statuisset lustrare & alios duos sinus inter Lumles Inlet & Bæccalaos, unde exeuntem vidisset ingentem fluxum, pro ut constat ex ejus Ephemeridibus, quas M. Petrus Plancius, curiosissimus talium novitatum investigator, tradidit M. Henrico Hudsono Anglo, Amsterodami per id tempus, anno videlicet 1609, agenti, & Indicæ navigationis Præfectis, in quærendo supra Novam Zemlam transitu, operam impensuro, qui & ipse cum ad Ortum nil profecisset, ad occasum recta deflexit, denuò tentaturus illum a Capitaneo Winwood quæsitum delineatumque meatum, post centum plus minus leucarum angustias, in amplum tandem pelagus desinentem, quod ipsum

*) Translation from Asher, pp. 185—189, see pp. 144—146.

mare hic noster Hudsonus speraverat fore pervium, licet contrarium ei, ex relatione cujusdam, qui occidentale maris ipsius littus adnavigaverat, idem Plancius ostendisset.

Hudsonus, cum ne hoc quidem itinere quidquam memoria dignum gessisset, anno proximè insecuto 1610, a populatibus suis rursum emissus est, & secutus illum in Lumles Inlet sibi a Georgio Winwod ex parte calcatum tramitem, post multas tandem molestias, fretum hoc superavit, et ad gradus 50, et 51, progressus est, ubi & hibernavit, atque hic demum, cum alioqui nullos toto itinere obvios usquam habuisset homines, accessit ad eum vir, qui bestiam quandam & nescio quid præterea adferret in commeatum crissio Mexicano seu Iaponensi accinctus. unde se non procul a terris Mexicanis abesse noster illicò suspicatus est. vir autem ille, parum comiter tunc exceptus, nunquam postea redijt. Quare Angli, cum præter octimestrem illum, quem secum advexerant commeatum, nihil aliunde nanciscerentur, è sinu, quem erant ingressi, occidentale legentes littus, septemtrionem versus excurrerunt ad gradus 62. & 63. ubi & mare invenerunt latè diffusum, & grandiores ab Cauro impulsos fluctos, quæ Hudsono quidem & Senatui nautico animus erat ulterius indagandi; sed refragantes navales socij, quod bimestri jam spatio, ultra quam de annona prospectum esset, domo abfuissent, insurrexere tandem in suos Præfectos, atque Hudsonum unà cum suis scapha exposuerunt in mare: ipsi verò qua venerant navi, anno 1611. Septembri mense, domum reversi sunt, ubi in carcerem hac de caussa compacti, tantisper asservantur, dum inveniatur Præfectus, quem requirere jussæ sunt tres ille naves, quas emiserunt hac ipsa æstate Ser.^{mus} VVallia Princeps & mercatores, transitum plenè perlustraturas, ac pernavigaturas, quarum uni injunctum, ut detecto ad plenum meatu recurrat, nuntium illud tam diu desideratum feliciter allatura, quod in horas nunc expectatur.

P (page 48—51) ¹⁾

From Hessel Gerritsz.' Hudson tract.

e. Second Dutch edition. 1612.

Verhael van d' ontdeckinghe van de nieu-ghesochte Strate in 't Noordwesten, om te seylen boven langhs de Landen van America, nae China ende Iapon; ghedaen door Mr. Hendrik Hudson Enghels-man.

De gheluckighe reysen der Enghelssen, die haerluyden dickwils groote profiten toegebracht hebben, hebben de haere hoe langhs hoe meer verweckt tot meerder ende verder ondersoeckingen, waer haer profyt ende rijkdom sou moghen gheleghen zijn, want behalven hare moeyelijke tochten in t'Oosten in Moscovia Nova Zemla, ende Groenland en hebben sy schier noyt gherust om in t'westen (daer sy haer woonplaetsen gemaect hebben in de Virginias) een door-gangh te soecken tusschen Groenland ende Nova Francia, welke wegh haer altijd (tot voor desen) ghebracht heeft al heel noordwaert in de koude en in t'ys, tot op de hoogte van 70 ende 80 graden, ende na haren eersten soecker Joannes Davis altoos is ghenoeemt gheweest. De laetste die daer op geweest heeft is Capiteyn Georghe Weymonth, die anno 1602. wel 500 leguen in die strate gheseylt heeft, doch door t'ys was hy ghedwongen (ghelijck als oock d'andere voor hem) weder te keeren. Dan beproevende waer hem t'gheluck beter wilde dienen, is, hy ter zyden op de hoogte van 61. grad in Lumleys Inlet gheseylt, daer hy west ten zuyen aenghegaen heeft omtrent 100 leguen, waer na hy teghen t'land komende ende gheen doorgang siende, door zyn volcx swackheyd ende anders beweeght is weder te

¹⁾ The translation is that of the Latin edition of 1613. The translation of the Dutch variations has been added from Asher, p. 193.

keeren, bedocht zijnde om noch te besøeken andere twee inganghen, daer hy veel waters met groote stroom had ghesien uytkomen, ghelegen zynde tusschen daer ende Baccalaos.

Dese reyse, alhoewel sy datmael niet veel nuts en dede, heeft nochtans veroorsaect, dat de journalen van dien, die de Capiteyn Georghe Weymouth ghegheven had den gheleerden D. P. Plancius (dat een seer vlytigh opsoecker is van alle nieuwigheyd, eenighsins dienende tot nuttigheyd van onses lands Zeevaert) ghedient hebben tot aenwijs voor Mr. Hendrick Hudson tot de opsoeckinge van dese soo seer gheachte ende gheroemde strate.

Want als de selve Hudson t'Amsterdam was an. 1609. (dies tijds dat hy aennam in dienst van de Compagnie van Oost Indien een reyse te doen om een wegh te vinden nae China ende Cathay boven Nova Zemla om) heeft hy dese Journalen van D. P. Plancius met groot behaghen bekomen, waer in oock beschreven is de reyse van G. Weymouth door de engte boven de Virginias tot in de groote zee die daer binnen in t'land is ghelegghen, ende na sommiger opinie soude doorgaen, Dan D. P. Plancius had het tegendeel daer af aen Hudson vertoont uyt t'relas van eenen die in t'westen aen de overzyde van die zee geweest had. Hudson dan op zijn reyse in t'oosten na Nova Zemla niet vindende anders dan ys, is na t'westen gheseylt om te besien wat daer voor hem te vinden was, niet gaende den rechten wegh (soo men hier zeyt) om dese landen geen dienst te doen, ende heeft in Nova Francia wat velwerck ghemanghelt, waer met hy is wederghekomen in Engheland, daer beklaeght zijnde tegen't nut van zijn Vaderland ghedaen te hebben, heeft hy van nieuws een reyse aengenomen tot naerder opsoeckinghe van de strate in t'westen, ende zijn gangh nemende nae Fretum Davis anno 1610, is hy op de hoochte van 61 graden t'pat inghegaen daer George Weymouth gheweest had, ende heeft aldaer beseylt al de custen van de strate die hier in dese zijne caerte ghetekent staen, diens hooghte leyt op de 63^{ste} graed, van waer hy zuyd aen gegaen is tot op de 52^{ste} graed

daer hy verwintert heeft, ende van daer weder-keerende is hy by de west-wal langs de 60 gra (*sic*) gheclommen, ende west-waert veertich mylen weegs seyende, vonden sy niet dan ruyme zee ende groote baeren uyt den noordoosten, dat Hudson goede hope gaf van al heel de swarigheyd over ghekomen te zijn, Daerom hy al vorder voort wilde, maer d'onwilligheyd van t'scheepsvolk groot gheworden zijnde, overmits den honger, of om dat sy qualijk ge victailleert waren, ende daer maer gheschickt en was op acht maenden, sonder dat sy yet bequamen op de gheheele wegh dan een beest, dat een Indiaen met bracht (die met een Mexicaansche cris oft vlamminghe poignaert ghewapent was, [daer wt dattet schijnt die natie daer te lande ghemeenschap te hebben met die aen de zuyder-zee¹⁾] de onwilligheyd (segh ick) van t'volck groot gheworden zijnde, hebben sy d'overheyd te samen in een schuyt buyten boord gheset, ende voorts laten dryven op Gods gheleyde, zijnde selve rechts weeghs naer Engeland gheseylt, daer sy in prison zijn gheset tot dat haeren Capiteyn Hudson sal wederghebracht zijn, [die ghesocht wort van de scheepjens die dese somer derwaert gesonden zijn van de Coopluyden ende van den Prince van Wallis die daer de hand aen hout, soo gheseyt wort, Welcke scheepjens men meent niet te sullen wederkomen eer sy al heel sullen tot in Mar del Zur geweest hebben, daer wy haer gheluck toe wenschen²⁾].

Finis.

¹⁾ [] "Wherefrom it appears that the people of that country have some communication with those along the Pacific ocean."

²⁾ [] "he is being searched for by the ships which have been sent out this summer by the merchants and by the Prince of Wales, who is said to assist them. These ships are not expected to return before they will have been in Mare del Zur. We wish them good luck".

Q (page 48—51)

From Hessel Gerritsz.' Hudson tract.

f. Second Latin edition. 1613.

Felicissimæ Anglorum navigationes, & prosperrimi, earum successus, magis ac magis isti genti stimulum addiderunt, ut facile omnia tædia devorarint et novas detectiones susceperint, quæ licet laboriosissimæ fuerint in Orientem ad ora Moscoviæ, Novæ Zemlæ & Groenlandiæ, nihilominus desudarunt in partibus Occidentalibus (occupatâ jam etiam illic, & colonijs suis insessa Virginia) ut sibi transitum, intra Groenlandiam, & Novam Franciam quærerent sed frustrâ hactenus, seducti viâ in Septemtrionem obductâ nivibus & glacie, eloboratum est, usque ad altitudinem septuaginta, aut octaginta graduum, nomenque traxit Fretum ab inventore primo Ioanne Davis, postremus qui idem iter instituit, præfectus fuit Georgius Weymouth, qui anno millesimo sexcentesimo secundo quingentas leucas navigando emensus est, sed glaciei copiâ coactus est, ut & alij antecessores, in patriam redire. Sed ne irritus plane esset conatus, navigans denuo, ad altitudinem, sexaginta, & unius gradus, per sinum quem Angli Lumles Inlet dicunt, ibi ob occidente in meridiem deflectens centum leucas, postea objectu terræ, transitum non inveniens, imbecillitate sociorum, alijsque de causis, coactus est reverti nihilominus & duos alios sinus lustravit, non sine maxima aquarum copia maris instar, & maximo fluxu et refluxu, intra terram hanc, et eam quam Baccalaos appellant.

Hæc navigatio licet tum temporis, votis, non responderit, tamen Diaria Georgij Weymouth (quæ inciderunt in manus D. P. Plantij curiosissimi rerum novarum investigatoris, in usum patriæ hujus nostræ reique Nauticæ) usui fuerunt maximo, H. Hudsoni, in investigatione hujus famosissimi Freti, cum enim anno millesimo sexcentesimo. & nono, ille ageret cum Præfectis Indicæ navigationis, de via inquirenda in Chinam et Catahayam, supra Novam Zemlam, hæc à D. P. Plantio im-

petravit Diaria, ex quibus totum istud iter Georgij Weymouth per angustias supra Virginiam didicit, usque ad Oceanum, qui eam alluit, hinc ista opinio invaluit, hac viâ solâ patere aditum ad Indos; sed quam fallax sit, docuit illum D. P. Plantius, ex relatu cujusdam, qui in parte Occidentali, terram esse continentem asseverarat, eamque lustrarat. Hudsonus nihilominus in Oriente, & Novâ Zemlâ, viam sibi à glacie, nivibus, præclusam videns, in Occidentem navigavit, ut quid spei superesset inquireret; non recto itinere (ut hic fertur) ut patriæ huic nostræ, et Præfectis prodesset, tantum in Novâ Franciâ mercibus suis commutatis, pro pellibus, salvus in Angliam reversus est, ibique accusatus in detrimentum Patriæ Angliæ navigationes suas instituisse; Iterum iter suscepit, non minori studio de transitu investigando in Occidente, tendens in Fretum Davis, anno millesimo sexcentesimo e dicimo, usque ad altitudinem unius & sexaginta graduum, ingressus semitam Georgij Weymouth, omnes oras lustravit, hac in tabulâ delineatas, usque ad gradus sexaginta tres, deflexit in Meridiem usque ad gradus quinquaginta quatuor, sub ijs hybernavit, solvens istinc littus Occidentale legens, ascendit usque ad gradum sexagesimum, recta navigans quadraginta leucas, amplum pelagus deprehendit, fluctibus à Cauro agitatis superbiens: Ex his non exigua spes transeundi Hudsono affulsit, nec voluntas Senatui nautico defuit, sed fastidium, et malevolentia sociorem scrupulum iniecere, ob victus inopiam, cum ijs tatum in octo menses prospectum esset, nihilque toto itinere alimento dignum in manus eorum incideret, nisi fortè Indus quidam, qui Crissio Mexicano, seu Iaponensi armatus, feram attulit, ex quo Hudsonus conijeiebat, se non longè a Mexicanis abesse, quorum arma, & commercia videret. Tandem prævaluit sociorum malevolentia, qui Hudsonum, cum reliqui præfectis scaphâ exposuerunt in mare, ipsi patriam petiere, quam cum appulissent, ob scelus commissum in carceres detrusi sunt, ibique detinentur, donec Præfectus eorum Hudsonus salvus suis restituatur, ab ijs, quibus id negotij superiori anno millesimo, sexcentesimo, &

duodecimo, jussu Principis Walliæ piæ memoriæ, et Præfectorum Russiæ navigationis commissum est, de quorum reditu hactenus nihil inauditum, hinc spes aliqua affulget, eos angustias illas superasse nec judicamus quid certi nos inaudituros priusquam ex Indiâ Orientali redierint, aut ubi cum Chinen-sibus, aut Iaponensibus sua transegerint, eademque viâ in Angliam redierint: quod felix et faustum sit precamur unicè.

Nec fervor iste in nostris Amsterodamensibus deferbuit planè superioribus enim mensibus ab ijs emissa est navis, eo tantum fine, ut de transitu, vel Freto Hudsoni inquireret, & num commercij locus sit in istis oris, si vero eventus votis non respondeat, in oris Novæ Franciæ negotiabuntur.

R

*From J. De Laet's Nieuwe Werelt. *)*

Page 83—84

Wat de eerste ontdeckinge belangt, in den jare 1609. sonden de Bewinthebbers van de geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische compagnie het jacht de halve Mane, daer voor schipper ende koopman op voer Hendrick Hudson, om int Noordt Oosten een door-ganc naer China te soecken; dan sy veranderden van cours, ende staken over naer Nova Francia, ende de banck van Terreneuf ghepasseert hebbende op de 43. grad. ende 23. minut. genaecten t' landt met een W. N. W. ende N. W. cours op de 44. grad. ende 15. minuten, ende landen daer by sekere Wilden, by de welcke, soo sy verstonden, de Francoysen jaerlijkx komen handelen: van hier keerden sy Suydtwaert op tot datse met een S. S. W. ende S. W. ten

*) Translation, see pp. 146—150, from Collections of the New York Hist. Society. 2d. Series. Vol. I. pp. 289—291 and 299—301. Asher has the same translation though with the text of the 2nd. Dutch edition, which causes some slight divergencies.

S. gangh weder t' landt ghewaer wierden op de 41. grad. ende 43. minuten, welc sy meynden een Eylandt te wesen, ende gavent den naem van Nieuwv-Hollandt, dan bevonden daer naer dat het Cap Cod was, ende dat het naer haer besteck wel vijf en seventich mijlen Westelijker leght, als in alle Caerten ghestelt wort. Van hier vervielen sy tot de 37. graden ende 15. minuten, alwaer sy weder lant sagen, ende streckte hem S. ende N. is een vlacke custe, ende daer strect een banc langs de custe henen, waer binnen het 8. 9. 10. 11. 7. ende $6\frac{1}{2}$. vadem diep is sandt-grond: Sy noemden dese plaetse de drooghe Caep. Daer naer Noordtwaert aen loopende, ghenaeckten sy weder t' landt op acht en dertich graden ende neghen minuten, ende was een wit sandt-strandt, ende binnen vol groene boomen, streckte daer N. N. O. ende S. S. W. ontrent acht mijlen, ende dan S. ende N. seven mijlen, ende voort S. O. ende N. W. vijf mijlen: zeylden al langhs de wal Noorden aen, tot dat sy aen een punt quamen, ende t'landt streckte doen W. N. W. ende was een baye daer eenighe rievieren in quamen, van desen hoeck sagen sy landt naer t' O. N. O. welck sy meynden een Eylandt te wesen, dan bevonden het vaste landt, ende den tweeden hoeck van die baye, op de hoogte van 38. grad. ende 54. minut. ende alsoo sy haer cours N. W. ten N. aen stelden, vonden sy haer selven gheinbayct ende gemoeten veel baringen, soo dat sy S. S. O. weder uytstonden: sy vermoeden datter een groote rievier most uytloopen, door de groote stroom die daer uytsette, ende dese sanden ende droogten veroorsaecte: hielent van hier voorts langs de wal, was wit sant-strant, ende binnen al verdroncken lant, ende 't binnen landt al vol boomen, streckte N. O, ten N, ende S. W, ten S, daer naer streckte N. ten, O. ende was hoogher landt als sy noch ghesien hadden, tot aen eenen hooghen hoeck, achter de welcke een baye leght, alwaer sy op de reede liepen, achter een leeghen sandt-hoeck, op de veertich graden ende achthien minuten; daer quamen twee Wilden by haer in Elands vellen ghekleet, die haer alle teecken en vrientschap

bethoonden, vonden daer aent landt menichte van blau Pruy-men, ende de schoonste Eycken van lenghte ende dickte die men sien konde, Poplieren, Lonen, ende alderhande houdt dat van noode is tot de schepen te bouwen; voeren van hier N. ten O. aen, ende de rievier op tot by de dry en veertich graden by Noorden de Linie, alwaer de rievier heel nauw werdt ende ondiep, soo dat sy te rugghe keerden. Naer alle t' ghene sy konden oordeelen ende bevinden, soo en waren in dit quartier noch noyt eenighe schepen ofte Christenen gheweest, soo dat sy de eerste waren die dese rievier ontdekten, ende soo hooghe op voeren. Hendrick Hudson met dit raport weder ghekeert zijnde t' Amsterdam, soo hebben eenighe Koop-lieden in den jare 1610. weder een schip derwaerts ghesonden, te weten naer dese tweede rievier, dewelcke sy den naem geven van de Manhattes; van weghen de natie van Wilden die aen t' beghin van dese rievier wonen: ende in de volghende jaren hebben de Ho. Mog. Heeren Staten Generael aen dese Koop-lieden Octroy verleent om alleen op dese rievier te moghen varen ende den handel drijven: waer over in den jare 1615. boven op de voor-noemde rievier een Redoute ofte Fortjen wierdt gheleght met een kleyne besettinghe, daer wy hier naer noch sullen van spreken; ende is dese vaert by de onse sints jaerlijcks ghecontinueert, ende door-gaens van ons volck daer blijven legghen om den handel met de Wilden te drijven; waer door dit quartier ten rechten den naem van Niew-Nederlandt heeft verkkreghen.

Page 88—89

Hendrick Hudson die dese rievier eerst heeft ontdeckt, ende alle die naerderhant daer hebben gheweest, weten wonder te segghen van de schoone boomen die hier wassen: de selve beschrijft ons de manieren ende ghestalte van t' volck, welck hy stracx binnen de baye vondt aldus: Als ick aent landt quam, stonden alle de Swarten en songhen op

hare wijze; haer kleederen syn vellen van Vossen ende andere beesten die sy bereyden, ende maken kleederen van vellen, van allerhande sorteringhen, haer eten is Turcxse tarwe, daer sy koecken van backen, ende is goet eeten; quamen al te met aen boordt d'een voor d'ander naer, met haer prauwen van een heel houdt ghemaect; haer gheweer is boghen ende pijlen met scharpe steentjens vooraen, die sy daer aen vast maken met spiegel harst; hadden daer geen huysen, sliepen al onder den blaeuwen Hemel, sommighe op mattjens aen malkanderen ghewroght van biesen, sommighe op bladeren van boomen, draghen altyts al haer goet met heur, datse hebben, als eten ende groenen Toback welck sterc is ende goet om nemen; schijnt vriendelijck volck te zijn, dan is seer gheneghen tot stelen, ende subtiel om wegh te halen alles t' gheene haer aenstaet. Op de hoogte van veertich graden ende acht en veertich minuten, al waer de Wilde seer schoone oesters aen syn schip brachten, ghetuycht de voor-noemde Hudson van t' landt aldus; Is soo schoonen landt als men met voeten betreden mach, over-vloedigh van alderhande houdt, om schepen te bouwen, ende om groote vaten van te maken; t' volc hadde daer koperen Toback pijpen, waer uyt ick vermoede dat daer koper moet zijn, als oock yser naer der Wilden beduydinghe, dan sy en hebben gheen wetenschap om t'selve te bereyden. De selve ghetuyght mede dat sy op de rievier allerhande rievier-visch met de seggen vongen, oock jonghe Salm ende Steur. Op de hoogte van twee en veertich graden ende achthien minuten was dito Hudson aen landt; Ick voer (seght hy) met een van haer prauwen aen landt, met een oudt man die daer overste was, van veertich mans ende seventhien vrouwen, die ick daer sagh; in een huys van basten van Eycken boomen wel ghemaect, ende rondtom soo ghelijck oft het een verwelft hadde gheweest, was overvloedigh van Maiz ende Boonen vant voor-gaende jaer, ende daer lagh by het huys wel soo veel te drooghen, als dry schepen mochten voeren, sonder dat noch stondt en wies; by het huys komende

werden twee mattjens ghespreyt om op te sitten, ende terstondt eenighe gherichten voort ghebracht, in roode houten backen wel ghemaect, ende sonden terstondt twee mannen uyt met booghen om wildt te schieten, brochten twee Duyven die sy wel haest gheschooten hadden, sloeghen terstondt oock eenen vetten hondt, ende kregghen het vel af metter haest met schelpen die sy uyt het water krijghen, meenden dat ick die nacht by haer blijven soude, dan ginck terstondt weder naert schip; is het schoonste landt om te bouwen, als ick oyt mijn leven met voeten betrat, ende oock van alderhande boomen; ende is seer goet volck, want doen sy sagen dat ick niet blijven en wilde, meenden dat ick van haer boghen vervaert was, namen de pijlen, braken die aen stucken ende worpen die int vier, etc. Sy vonden daer oock Wijngaerden ende Druyven, Pompoenen ende andere vruchten. Wt welckes alles ghenoechsaem is af te nemen dat het een schoon ende vruchtbaer quartier is, ende goet volck, als het maer wel ghehandelt wordt; doch seer veranderlijk, ende van den selven aerdt als alle t' volck van die Noorder quartieren.

TRANSLATION

E a

Honourable, Wise, Prudent and Discreet Sirs,

We duly received Your Honours' letter of the 11th. inst. and learnt therefrom that the Englishman, Mr. Hutson, had great dispute with Dierck Gerritss ¹⁾, the chief boatswain, concerning the wages of the Englishmen who were to sail with him and such other matters as YY. HH. write of. Thereupon this serves as our advice and answer: that whereas the said Hutson has taken his departure he shall remain dismissed; and even if he came to change his mind with respect to performing the journey YY. HH. shall in no wise engage him but leave him dismissed. And whereas there was advanced to him certain monies to the amount of twenty-five pounds more or less, YY. HH. shall compel the said Hutson, by law or arrest, to repay the aforesaid monies which the Comp. has advanced him.

YY. HH. shall also look out for an experienced man to take the said Hutson's place, with the advice and knowledge of Petrus Plancius, in order that the voyage may be furthered with all diligence; in regard to which YY. HH. shall put forth every endeavour and take good care so that by the proper time all may be ready for departing and setting sail, we enjoining this most earnestly upon YY. HH. as being of great service to us. Herewith, Honourable Sirs, etc.

¹⁾ Engaged by the Amsterdam Chamber in August, 1608, as chief boatswain.

E b

Amsterdam Chamber.

We duly received Your Honours' letter of the 11th. inst. yesterday evening and considered it at our meeting to day.

We are much surprised at Mr. Hudson's strange behaviour and consider it inadvisable to let him undertake the voyage, for if he begins to rebel here under our eyes what will he do if he is away from us? We therefore consider it advisable that YY. HH. cancel his voyage and demand from him the £ 25 Flemish given him and that, if he will not repay these amicably, YY. HH. shall compel him thereunto by law.

The Comp. considers it advisable that the voyage shall in any case be proceeded with and that YY. HH. shall look out for a competent and sensible person, experienced in such voyages, engaging him with the advice of Plantius so that the expenses and trouble incurred may, if possible, not remain fruitless.

This we have deemed it well to inform YY. HH.

Herewith Honourable Sirs, etc. dated March 14, 1609; written in the name of the XVII.

E c

Touching the agreement entered into by YY. HH. with the pilot Mr. Thomas ¹⁾ Hudson to sail northwards to Weygaets and so to China, We have no objection thereto

¹⁾ Also so called in the Resolutions of the Amsterdam Chamber.

"This day January 19, 1609.

It was resolved that Mr. Tomas Hutson, engaged for the northern voyage, be given the sum of one hundred and fifty guilders on account of his wages.

except our belief that it will be but so much more lost expense. And even if it were undertaken by other private individuals we do not believe it would be prejudicial to the Comp., and this is for Your Honours' guidance.

E d

In our preceding letter of the 15th. inst. we answered Your Honours' of the 8th. touching the voyage to Waygaats, but as the matter was of moment we deliberated further thereupon, and it was considered by the majority to be connected with much difficulty. Firstly, since according to the Charter, we are by the States accorded navigation along the Cape of Good Hope and Magellan's Straits, but no further; which object is the aim of all the shareholders in our body, and if it turned out other than well, it is questionable whether those shareholders would approve of it, especially as in our opinion it is more an affair for private individuals than for our Comp. Secondly, since upon such weighty matters an opinion should be given by all the Chambers in order that it may be seen in common what is deemed most expedient and advisable for the Comp. And, moreover, we cannot see that it is useful or practicable for the Comp. and feel certain that it will be so much money thrown away; should it however, be undertaken by private individuals we do not believe it would be prejudicial to the Comp., and if there were such prospects as the person holds out, the Comp. which has allready twice equipped him would not leave him short of a thousand pounds for the sake of getting a third prize, since they have allready borne the cost of two voyages.

E e

This day, December 29, 1608,

Messieurs Dirck van Os, Jan Poppe and Arent ten Grotenhuys were commissioned to draft the contracts with the Englishman and the letters to be written to the Chambers.

On the same day the Directors Marcus de Vogelaer and Jan Hermansz were commissioned "to look out, in conjunction with Dirck Gerritsz., the chief boatswain, for a suitable vessel of 25 to 35 lasts, wherein the Englishman may sail".

L

But as the English, after these aforesaid expeditions of W. Barentsz., had still made several voyages by way of trial in the north-east, the Directors of the East India-Company sent thither some years ago a certain Mr. Hudson, who as he could find no way in the east, sailed towards the west, whence without having obtained any advantage, he arrived in England. Afterwards, when the English again sent him out, he had much more prosperity but less good luck, for having after much trouble arrived about 300 miles to the west of Terra de Baccalaos, and having taken up his winter-quarters there and wishing in 52° of latitude to push on further, he was, with all the Commanders, put on shore by the crew, who refused to go further and returned home. His designs we subjoin at the close of the book, hoping that we shall receive of the vessels now sent thither further news and tidings of a through passage, by which they would reap eternal honor and fame,

The hope of finding out this newly discovered passage or strait above Terra Nova discovered by Mr. Hudson, is strengthened by the testimony of the Virginians and Floridians, who confidently affirm that to the north-west of their country is a large sea, saying that they have seen vessels there like those of the English.

N

But as even after these voyages of William Barentz the English had repeatedly tried that northern way, the Directors of the East India Company resolved three years ago to send there a certain Mr. Hudson, an Englishman. He, having found no way to the east, but, instead of it, the ocean almost entirely obstructed by ice, went to the west and returned without any profit to England. He was then sent out again by the English, and his voyage was far more prosperous, but his own fortune far worse. For, having after many labours passed beyond the Terra de Baccalaos for about three hundred miles to the west, and having wintered there in latitude 52° , and being sure to be able to go still farther; then, not only he himself, but all his officers were put into a boat by their mutinous crew and left to drift on the waves. The sailors returned home without delay. We have added his geographical observations to the present book. We expect more certain news by the ships which have already been sent there; and even the much desired report that they will have passed through the strait. These ships will thus obtain eternal fame and glory. . .

These news of Hudson's recently found passage to the north of Newfoundland and the hope of a strait are

confirmed by the testimony of the Virginian and Floridan savages, who all state most distinctly that their country is washed on its south-western side by a vast ocean, in which they have seen ships similar to those of the English.

O

The English nation, encouraged by previous success, have grown bolder and bolder in their naval enterprise. Thus, besides their frequent voyages to the east, to Nova Zembla and to Spitzbergen, ¹⁾ they have made almost uninterrupted efforts to discover a western passage or strait to China and Japan. They expected that sailing by this road they would have on their left the North American shores, where they have founded their Virginian colony.

Several of those who set out in search of that passage entered Davis's Straits. Their example was followed by Captain George Winwood, ²⁾ who sailed in 1602 nearly five hundred English miles up that strait, but was then forced by the ice to return. He now attempted to find the desired passage by exploring the narrows under 61°, which the English call Lumley's Inlet. But having sailed a hundred leagues into them he again turned back, partly on account of the sufferings which the great length of the voyage produced among his crew, partly because he desired to explore two more bays, situated between Lumley's Inlet and Baccalaos, whence the sea was streaming out with great might. These facts are stated in his log-books, which Mr. Peter Plancius, a

¹⁾ The Latin has *Groendlandiam*.

²⁾ See the remark at p. 89 Note 2.

diligent investigator of such matters, communicated to Mr. H. Hudson during his stay in Amsterdam in 1609, when Hudson was going to undertake a search for a passage to the north of Nova Zembla for the Directors of the Dutch East India Company. He did set out, but achieved nothing in the east; he sailed therefore straight westward, to attempt again the way searched out and drawn by Captain Winwood; which way, after passing for about a hundred leagues through a narrow channel, leads out into a wide sea. Hudson hoped to find a way through this sea, though Plancius had proved to him the impossibility of success, from the accounts of a man who had reached the western shore of that sea. Hudson achieved in 1609 nothing memorable, even by this new way. But he was again sent out in 1610 by his own countrymen. He now followed the way through Lumley's Inlet pointed out to him by Winwood's papers. Having passed under many labours through the strait, he reached the latitude of 52° , where he wintered. Here he fell in, for the first time during the voyage, with one of the natives of the country. This Indian brought some merchandise, and was armed with a Mexican or Japanese *cris*; from which circumstances Hudson concluded that he was not far from Mexico. The native, however, not being well treated, never afterwards returned. The English thus lost this only chance of adding to their victuals, and being provided for eight months only, they left the harbour they had entered and sailed along the western shore of the bay till up to 62° or 63° north. Here they found a wide sea and more powerful tides from the north-west, which Hudson and the officers intended to examine further. But the crew, who had already been two months longer from home than their provisions had

been intended for, rose against their commanders, and exposed Hudson and his friends in a boat in the open air. The crew then returned by the way they had come and reached their home in September 1611, where they were thrown into prison. They are going to be kept prisoners till their captain will have been found. In search of him three ships have been sent out this summer (1612) by the Prince of Wales and some merchants. They are to explore the passage throughout, and when they have found the open ocean, one of them is to return with the desired news. This ship is daily expected home.

R

Page 83—84.

As to the first discovery, the Directors of the authorized East India Company, in the year 1609, dispatched the yacht, Half-Moon, under the command of Henry Hudson, captain and super-cargo, to seek a passage to China by the north-east. But he changed his course and stood over towards New France, and having passed the banks of New Foundland in latitude $43^{\circ} 23'$, he made the land in latitude $44^{\circ} 15'$, with a west-north-west and north-west course, and went on shore at a place where there were many of the natives with whom, as he understood, the French came every year to trade. Sailing hence, he bent his course to the south, until running south-south-west and south-west by south, he again made land in latitude $41^{\circ} 43'$, which he supposed to be an island, and gave it the name of New Holland, but afterwards discovered that it was Cape Cod, and that according to his observation, it lay two hundred and twenty-five miles ¹⁾ to the west

¹⁾ In this translation the Dutch miles have been converted into English.

of its place on all the charts. Pursuing his course to the south, he again saw land in latitude $37^{\circ} 15'$; the coast was low, running north and south, and opposite to it lay a bank or shoal, within which there was a depth of eight, nine, ten, eleven, seven, and six and a half fathoms, with a sandy bottom. Hudson called this place Dry Cape.

Changing his course to the northward, he again discovered land in lat. $38^{\circ} 9'$, where there was a white sandy shore, and within appeared a thick grove of trees full of green foliage. The direction of the coast was north-north-east and south-south-west for about twenty-four miles; then north and south for twenty-one miles, and afterwards south-east and north-west for fifteen miles. They continued to run along the coast to the north, until they reached a point from which the land stretches to the west and north-west, where several rivers discharge into an open bay. Land was seen to the east-north-east, which Hudson at first took to be an island, but it proved to be the main land, and the second point of the bay, in latitude $38^{\circ} 54'$. Standing in upon a course north-west by east, they soon found themselves embayed, and encountering many breakers, stood out again to the south-south-east. Hudson suspected that a large river discharged into the bay, from the strength of the current that set out and caused the accumulation of sands and shoals.

Continuing their course along the shore to the north, they observed a white sandy beach and drowned land within, beyond which there appeared a grove of wood; the coast running north-east by east and south-west by south. Afterwards the direction of the coast changed to north by east, and was higher land than they had yet seen. They at length reached a lofty promontory or head-land, behind which was situated a bay, which they

entered and run up into a road-stead near a low sandy point, in lat. $40^{\circ} 18'$. There they were visited by two savages clothed in elk-skins, who showed them every sign of friendship. On the land they found an abundance of blue plums and magnificent oaks, of a height and thickness that one seldom beholds; together with poplars, linden trees, and various other kinds of wood useful in ship-building. Sailing hence in a northeasterly direction, they ascended a river to nearly 43° north latitude, where it became so narrow and of so little depth, that they found it necessary to return.

From all that they could learn, there had never been any ship or Christians in that quarter before, and they were the first to discover the river and ascend it so far. Henry Hudson returned to Amsterdam with this report; and in the following year, 1610, some merchants again sent a ship thither, that is to say, to the second river discovered, which was called Manhattes, from the savage nation that dwelt at its mouth. And subsequently their High Mightinesses the States General granted to these merchants the exclusive privilege of navigating this river and trading there; whereupon, in the year 1615, a redoubt or fort was erected on the river, and occupied by a small garrison, of wick we shall hereafter speak. Our countrymen have continued to make voyages thither from year to year for the purpose of trafficking with the natives, and on this account the country has very justly received the name of New-Netherlands.

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Henry Hudson, who first discovered this river, and all that have since visited it, express their admiration of the noble trees growing upon its banks; and Hudson

has himself described the manners and appearance of the people that he found dwelling within the bay, in the following terms: —

“When I came on shore, the swarthy natives all stood around, and sung in their fashion; their clothing consisted of the skins of foxes and other animals, wick they dress and make the skins into garments of various sorts. Their food is Turkish wheat, (maize or Indian corn), which they cook by baking, and it is excellent eating. They all came on board one after another in their canoes, which are made of a single hollowed tree; their weapons are bows and arrows, pointed with sharp stones, which they fasten with hard resin. They had no houses, but slept under the blue heavens, sometimes on mats of bulrushes interwoven, and sometimes on the leaves of trees. They always carry with them all their goods, such as their food and green tobacco, which is strong and good for use. They appear to be a friendly people, but have a great propensity to steal, and are exceedingly adroit in carrying away whatever they take a fancy to.”

In latitude $40^{\circ} 48'$, where the savages brought very fine oysters to the ship, Hudson describes the country in the following manner:—“It is as pleasant a land as one need tread upon; very abundant in all kinds of timber suitable for shipbuilding, and for making large casks or vats. The people had copper tobacco pipes, from which I inferred that copper might naturally exist there; and iron likewise according to the testimony of the natives, who, however, do not understand preparing it for use.

Hudson also states that they caught in the river all kinds of fresh-water fish with seines, and young salmon and sturgeon. In latitude $42^{\circ} 18'$ he landed:—“I sailed to the shore,” he says, “in one of their canoes, with an

old man, who was the chief of a tribe, consisting of forty men and seventeen women; these I saw there in a house well constructed of oak-bark, and circular in shape, so that it had the appearance of being well built, with an arched roof. It contained a great quantity of maize or Indian corn, and beans of the last year's growth, and there lay near the house for the purpose of drying, enough to load three ships, besides what was growing in the fields. On our coming into the house, two mats were spread out to sit upon, and immediately some food was served in well made red wooden bowls; two men were also despatched at once with bows and arrows in quest of game, who soon after brought in a pair of pigeons which they had shot. They likewise killed a fat dog, and skinned it in great haste with shells which they had got out of the water. They supposed that I would remain with them for the night, but I returned after a short time on board the ship. The land is the finest for cultivation that I ever in my life set foot upon, and it also abounds in trees of every description. The natives are a very good people, for when they saw that I would not remain, they supposed that I was afraid of their bows, and taking the arrows, they broke them in pieces, and threw them into the fire, etc."

He found there also vines and grapes, pumpkins, and other fruits; from all of which there is sufficient reason to conclude that it is a pleasant and fruitful country and that the natives are well disposed, if they are only well treated; although they are very changeable, and of the same general character as all the savages in the north.



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